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A Statement of Loyalty Issued by Members of the  
Society of Friends

From "The New York Tribune," March 28, 1918

There are certain fundamental principles of right and humanity which every man must feel called upon to defend, even to the extent of forcible resistance, if long-continued, intolerable conditions, caused by morally defunct people, are to be ended before the world is enslaved. For more than two centuries the Society of Friends has stood steadfastly and consistently for peace to the limit of toleration. It is in matters of individual conduct, however, rather than in National Wrongs, that those principles have proved effective. Many distinguished Friends in the past have realized that, in cases of great collective oppression, mere submission only renders the objects of the oppressor more easily attained.

It is well for us to profit by the experience and judgment of those of proved attainments and acknowledged usefulness in the community, rather than by the views of those who have not those qualities. Thus we may well consider the experience and judgment of William Penn, James Logan, John Dickenson, Nathaniel Greene, Israel Whelen, Thomas Mifflin, Jacob Brown, John Bright, John G. Whittier, and a number of Friends living to-day, of similar distinction and experience in the facts of life.

Our foundation principle, and the excuse for our separate corporate existence, is a belief in the Divine Immanence or a direct communion with God. The object of our Society, therefore, is to awaken every one to a consciousness of "that of God" within him which will "speak to his condition." Any particular testimony as to outward affairs must then be the statement merely of a particular person or group within the Society, unless approved by it.

We believe that the Society of Friends is as earnestly opposed as any one to the enthrallment of the world by a military caste; to the human slavery and slaughter imposed upon Belgium, Poland, Armenia, and other countries; to the wholesale destruction of innocent non-combatant women and children; to unparalleled atrocities and to the spread of unorganized barbarism. We think that a decent respect for the opinions of mankind makes it incumbent upon the Society of Friends to make such a statement.

The principal thing which George Fox did was to break away bravely from the bondages of traditional dogma, and point from the slavery of the formal Church Discipline to the Authority Within. Elias Hicks followed this principle in proclaiming that no book or dogma should be adhered to, unless it met the Witness for Truth in the individual heart.

We do not agree with those who would utter sentimental platitudes while a mad dog is running amuck, biting women and children; with those who would stand idly by, quoting some isolated passage of scripture, while an insane man murdered him, ravished his wife, bayoneted his babies or crucified his friends; nor with any person who would discuss with some well and contented stranger the merits of various fire extinguishers, while his wife and children are calling to him from the flames of his burning house.

We believe that wrong is relative and has degrees, that there are greater things than human life, and worse things than war. There is a difference between peace as an end, and peace as a means to an end. We do not want peace with dishonor, or a temporary peace with evil. We will not equivocate with honor, or compromise





with wickedness. We must not only seek to save ourselves from war, but posterity as well, and we must not mistake pictures or names of things, for the things themselves. It takes two to make peace, but only one to make war.

Believing that it is not enough at this time to be neutral, and that the views of the Society of Friends have not been adequately represented by the official statements of its executives, nor by the utterances of many of its public speakers, we feel that we should follow the course of our brothers in England who both now, and in the past, have realized that there are unusual and extraordinary circumstances of infrequent occurrence, which cannot be rigidly or fully met by any man-made church discipline. We, therefore, deem it consistent with our Quaker faith to act according to the dictates of our own consciences, and proclaim a unity with the teachings of Jesus Christ and the messages of the President of our country.

As to the former, we believe the Master to have been a religious teacher in normal times, whose words were addressed to individuals living in those times. We cannot think that He would have remained neutral against organized savagery. In the political affairs of a nation we are to "render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's". Jesus made known this attitude by the questions His hearers asked Him. We cannot think, if the long history of Germany's intrigue and barbarism were related to Him, and the question asked- "Is it lawful for us to rise and resist the aggression of this mighty power by force of arms, or to covet bondage for ourselves and our children?" - that He would have answered- "Let the giant have his way, resist him not." Rather we believe He would have said; "They that take the sword shall perish with the sword and in such a cause whosoever shall save his life shall lose it, but whosoever shall lose his life, the same shall save it". We remember His words in the 23rd chapter of Matthew, and His armed, forcible driving of the money-changers from the temple, with the destruction of their property; His statement that He came "not to send peace but a sword;" His prophecy that wars "must needs be;" and many other sayings, that were not the language of slavish submission to aggression and evil, but of manly resistance. His teaching that we love our enemies can, we think, be made to mean complete non-resistance to national aggression and evil only by tearing them out from the rest of the New Testament, and their setting in Oriental thought and life, as well as by ignoring the conduct of the Master himself.

It is, perhaps, reasonable to believe that God works through human instruments, and that He wishes us to be "His hands" for reward and punishment. This course has, we believe, been patiently and forcibly stated to us by the President of the United States, who has shown us that the "right is more precious than peace." We proclaim our loyalty to the cause of civilization, and to the President of the United States, and our willingness to help in all ways that may be opened to us by the Inward Light, which is the foundation of our faith.

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This statement is signed by representative Friends of Philadelphia, New Jersey, Delaware and Maryland. New York Friends have already issued a similar declaration. The signatures to the above were headed by the following nationally known Quakers: Isaac H. Clothier, Joseph Wharton Lippincott, Joseph W. Swan, W. Penn Hoopes, Robert M. Jamney and William P. Haines.

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Believing that the foregoing is an accurate presentation of the views most conscientiously held at this time - now that our beloved country is, once more, fighting for noble principles and, indeed, its very existence - this statement has been reproduced and placed in circulation by certain Friends who feel that these courageous, noble and truly Christian words should be widely read, and earnestly and prayerfully pondered.

June 3, 1942.

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## Preparedness and Peace

The controversy over preparedness for the national defense continues and has within the last few days developed at least one new aspect. Emphasis has been placed hitherto upon the fact that the press of European nations has paid no attention to the plans for Defense Day. However, the *Christian Science Monitor* for September 5 publishes a communication from a special correspondent in Warsaw stating that few happenings since the armistice have "more directly helped the forces of European reaction and injured the cause of European liberalism" than the plans of the United States Government for a military demonstration on September 12. "This is evident in press comment, in the private declarations of government officials and in the public declaration of militarists. On the one hand this military flourish of the United States is serving to set back the development of that international trust and good will which now, for the first time since the war, were appearing to furnish a basis for a genuine European settlement. Reactionary forces, on the other hand, are finding, in America's military display, fresh ammunition for their fight to restore Europe to the old pre-war order of nationalistic diplomacy. . . . In Germany the reactionary elements that have fought every step toward conciliation since the armistice hailed the mobilization plans of the United States with open satisfaction. Nationalistic papers declared that foundation for their arguments is now found in that nation which, of all others, has least to fear from invasion and in the past has most openly championed the cause of peace. German opinion, in many places, reflected the conviction that the United States came into the war 'for its own good,' as one German put it, 'refused to stay for the peace and now indicates its belief that another war is to be expected.'

"Throughout Europe, also, the Mobilization Day activities of the United States are linked up with the Japanese Exclusion Act. Not versed in the arguments which led Congress to pass that law, individuals with whom I have talked concerning it have, uniformly, concluded that its results will lead to the long-ago-prophesied conflict between Japan and the United States. It is in anticipation of such a conflict, say these persons, that the military forces of the country are to be called to arms on September 12. . . . That other such wars are inevitable between capitalistic nations is the conclusion of the Communistic press. As the freshest and most striking evidence of that fact, the papers point to the Mobilization Day of the United States.

"'If we had ordered such a general mobilization before 1914, war would have come almost inevitably upon the heels of such a move,' one Austrian said to me. 'The

United States is so situated that it can carry out a program of this nature without those dire consequences. The only point on which we can criticise your country is on that of the time selected for this pledging of allegiance to the gods of war.' . . .

"As between the proposed disarmament conference, however, and Mobilization Day, on September 12, European opinion, apparently, is put to it to know which reflects the real attitude of the American Government."

The statement of Rear-Admiral W. L. Rodgers, U. S. N. (retired), made at the Williamstown Institute of Politics, has drawn sharp criticism, particularly the prediction that when its population reaches 200,000,000 the United States, "if there is any manhood left in the American people" will surely fight "in order to keep our place in the world, protect our population, and give it a place to go at the expense of other nations." For this the contributing editor of the *Methodist Christian Advocate* referred to him as "our own Von Tirpitz." He says concerning the statement: "Not since the unabashed declaration of the Potsdam gang of militarists in Germany before and during the Great War has the saber been rattled more noisily or the spirit of the jingo been given franker utterance. . . . This is the kind of stuff out of which wars are made. The speech would have done credit to von Bernhardt. The retired Admiral's position on international relations is very fittingly in accord with this primeval attitude."

A leading churchman, who is himself far from being a pacifist and who holds a commission in the army, said that the greatest harm which the army has suffered has come from the unrestrained utterances of military leaders, and that no severer blow had been struck at the War Department's plans than that struck by Rear Admiral Rodgers. A well known political leader has also expressed the judgment that the question would have to be taken up how far military and naval men, retired or otherwise, should be permitted to interfere with the affairs of the Department of State which is charged with the duty of caring for our delicate foreign relations, and illustrated his comment by reference to the "vicious utterances" of Rear Admiral Rodgers and others.

The same issue of the *New York Christian Advocate* which carried the denunciation of Rear Admiral Rodgers contained a declaration by Bishop R. J. Cooke that all who signed the pacifist pledge should also engage as follows:

"That should the United States engage in any war of any kind we solemnly pledge ourselves individually and collectively to surrender and cancel all rights to American citizenship, our homes and possessions; all privileges and opportunities which have been made pos-





sible for us by the American people and secured to us by our government, our laws and our institutions, and for the defense of which others have suffered and died; and we furthermore solemnly pledge ourselves as the only honest and logical consequence of this pledge to seek some other country from which we may obtain something for nothing, or at the cost of the blood and treasure of other people."

Bishop Cooke, while bitterly attacking the pacifists, proposed also, as a measure of justice and a means of preventing needless wars that a law should be passed by the Congress to this effect: "In the event of war the United States government shall conscript the life and freedom, the labor and wealth of every citizen of the United States."

*The Congregationalist* for September 4 contains a report of an address by Rev. J. H. M. Dudley, a pastor in Elizabeth, N. J., who seems to be also a lieutenant colonel, in which he denounced all opponents of Defense Day as "dirty,—— pacifists, radicals and Communists." On the same page appears a letter from Maxwell Chaplin, recently returned from the Far East and from China where he has been living for five years, heartily endorsing the stand which *The Congregationalist* has taken on the Defense Day issue and declares "this drive of the War Department will be interpreted as a threatening gesture by every native newspaper in the Far East. Its effect upon foreign opinion will be exactly what your editorial claims. It is a crime against international good will."

Rabbi Wise in his published letter to General Bullard declining cooperation in the observance of Defense Test Day concluded his statement as follows:

"In all I have written I speak for myself alone, not for the Jewish Church or people. For, frankly, I fear that many rabbis and laymen of the Jewish household will be entirely ready to accede to your suggestion. Nor have I any quarrel with the eminent heads of the Roman Catholic and Protestant Episcopal churches of New York, who have seen fit to give their episcopal imprimatur to mobilization day. Though not a Christian, I am not ready to render to Caesar or to Mars the things that are God's.

"As an American, I am ready to have part in any genuine enterprise that shall make a demobilization day possible. As a religious and ethical teacher, I conceive it to be my duty not to assent to every unconsidered or ill-considered proposal of an overzealous War Department, but to do what in one man lies to bring home to his fellow-Americans the supreme opportunity and duty of the hour—which is to mobilize, as for one reason or another America has not yet done—earnestly, effectively, resistlessly, the forces of the world in behalf of the fellowship of abiding peace."

Gen. Bullard is reported in the press as dismissing Dr. Wise's letter with a contemptuous comment.

In his sermon on Sunday morning, September 7, Rev. Ralph W. Sockman of Madison Avenue Methodist Episcopal Church, New York, expressed the fear "that the forthcoming Defense Day will be dangerously misinterpreted." He disclaimed any objection to national defense, as such, but deprecated anything approximating a militaristic gesture at a time "when at least one nation feels very sensitive toward us and when the world is clamoring for peace as never before." He vigorously attacked the militaristic philosophy and expressed his amazement that "good, orthodox Christian laymen who profess to believe in the Bible from cover to cover" will rebel when the minister comes forward with a great idealistic declara-

tion, taken directly from the Scriptures, and urges them to accept it as inspired of God.

A statement has been received from the International Federation of Trade Unions, with headquarters at Amsterdam, which includes the following:

"In spite of the terrible economic sufferings which they are enduring, France and Germany are still seeking each other's destruction. The United States and Japan are preparing to fly at each others' throats. It would almost seem as if mankind has lost its instinct for self-preservation. . . .

"We must never cease to remember that militarism is a disgrace, that the training of soldiers is a preparation for murder, and that all murder is crime. . . .

"We must teach that the workers engaged in war industries are equally guilty; those who forge weapons of murder are committing acts as reprehensible as those of the men who use them for their murderous purposes. All this we must cry aloud incessantly in the world.

"And above all, we must try to use our influence in schools, which in their narrow patriotism foster national prejudice, and by celebrating the glory of victory, help to keep alive the hatred between the peoples."

It is, of course, not to be supposed that men like Rear Admiral Rodgers and other men who have spoken in similar vein represent the views of such men as the Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy or the Secretary of War, and certainly not the views of General Pershing, who himself made one of the first utterances urging the necessity for the reduction of armaments and who served as a member of the Washington Conference. It is interesting to note that the "Draft Treaty," now being considered by the League of Nations was sponsored by such men as Generals Harbord and Tasker Bliss.

It appears, however, that the prediction made some weeks ago by a prominent newspaper is coming true, namely that the plan for Defense Day would occasion many unwise utterances which would misrepresent the attitude of the American people. A press report for September 9 contains the substance of a "mobilization order" published by the mayor of a New Jersey town in which that official "orders" every able bodied male citizen of the town between 18 and 45 to report at the borough hall on the evening of September 12. The Chief of Police of the town volunteered the information that martial law would prevail on the night of September 12. "Any man seen on the street that night of draft age not in the parade will be taken to police headquarters and held there until the demonstration is over." He stated afterward that this was announced merely to wake people up. There is no evidence that such demonstrations will be numerous, but where extreme measures are taken they, of course, attract a disproportionate amount of attention both here and abroad.

Meanwhile, the church forces in an entirely constructive way are proceeding with their plans for Mobilization Day for Justice, Goodwill and Peace on November 11. The major denominations are cooperating in it and, interestingly enough, words of strong commendation have come from noted military leaders whose service in the last war was distinguished. General John F. O'Ryan writes:

"I commend heartily the proposal of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America to use Armistice Day to express to the people of the country the importance of stimulating understanding of the problem of securing world peace, so that the tragedies of war may be avoided. . . .

"The Federal Council of Churches is conducting its





campaign in the interest of peace in accordance with correct strategic principles, for its real mission is to develop the understanding of the American people, capture their interest, insure their understanding and win their support. The mission is not to attack the strongholds of political opposition. These strongholds, where they exist, only serve to distract attention from the real objective. When the true mission is accomplished the political strongholds will capitulate as a matter of course."

General James G. Harbord writes concerning the plan for Armistice Day: "The anniversary of this memorable day should be the occasion for indelibly establishing in the minds of all Americans, the wastefulness, the horrors and the immeasurable destruction of wars."

Lieutenant Colonel Allyn, commanding 607th Coast Artillery, in a communication to the *New York American* of September 2, endorsed the Federal Council's plan for observance of Armistice Day and added this comment: "The Veterans of Foreign Wars and the American Legion have both sought to make the day a holiday, but six years of strife have followed the armistice and it is about time the day is made a day of sober contemplation. In addition to the subjects suggested for study, I would suggest religious toleration, racial friendships, social justice and cooperative effort. We need to take reasonable precautions in defense plans, as on September 12, against international pirates, and we need to pray to be kept from the sins of our own selfish personal and national desires."

It is apparent that there is a sharp difference among military men themselves on the subject of preparedness and defense. Apparently many of them, while they are by no means pacifists, are quite ready to align themselves with constructive efforts for world peace.

## "The Training of the Soldier"

The current discussion of militarism, preparedness and military training makes timely a reprinting, for their informational value, of portions of an article which appeared under the above caption in the *American Mercury* for June. The writer, Arlington B. Conway, served on the staff of a Canadian brigadier throughout the late war. He discusses the native equipment of a successful soldier and the essential elements of his training:

"A strong sentiment of patriotism is popularly believed to ensure the warrior's steadfastness and eventual triumph in the face of machine-gun fire, poison gas, trench feet, the stupidity of his superiors and the persecutions of *Pediculus vestimenti*, but this is obviously moonshine. The idea of patriotism itself is too recently acquired and still too superficial to have any effect on the action of the normal human being under the fear of immediate death. The incantations and spells of orators, the flash and flare of flags and uniforms and the barbaric rhythm of martial music may work a man up to enthusiasm while his feet are yet on the asphalt, but let him spend five minutes in a trench listening to the blurred wailing of a comrade shot through the belly, and if he thinks of patriotism at all it will only be to curse it.

"A man fights well simply because he feels a superiority in himself, and in the collective mass of those like him which he calls his nation, over his enemies—those who would deny that superiority. He is compelled, under pain of admitting inferiority, to prove his strength. He knows only one way of making that proof: by killing a large number of his foes, causing the remainder to run away, and then going to their capital, stealing their valu-

able property and carrying off the sightlier of their women. A man does not fight because he reasons, but because he does not reason. True enough, politicians, men of business, priests and the governing classes generally make and conduct wars for purposes that are more or less clear in their minds, but I am writing here of the man one encounters as a common soldier, and trying to determine how to get him into the frame of mind that will make him an efficient instrument in the hands of his officers. Perhaps it will help to consider first what kind of man makes the best soldier.

"It is sometimes assumed that, owing to the increasing complexity of war, the many semi-scientific appliances used and the great decentralization of command, the more individuality and education a soldier has the more useful he will be. He must be capable, it is argued, of comprehending the moral justifications his nation has for seeking to impose its will on the enemy nation. My experience has been that this is not actually the case. In the late war, it was my job to run the signal communications of a brigade. Among the men I had under me were five college students, neophytes of the Methodist ministry. They were full of the sense of duty and the righteousness of the cause for which they were fighting. They wrote interminable letters, which I had to censor, filled with the most elevated patriotic and humanitarian sentiments. But when we started to fight and Fritz plastered the approaches with five-nines and eight-inch shells, breaking all the wires, the men I depended upon to go out at all hours of the day and night, plough through the mud, and, under the menace of a sudden and sticky death, mend the cables (often an intricate and disheartening job in itself) were not the five theologians, but my red-headed Irish sergeant and two or three godless fellows who spent a great deal of their time in hospital recuperating from the wounds inflicted by lady snipers. The parsons found their true sphere of usefulness in acting as the army equivalent of hello-girls; their meekness enabled them to support the blasphemous assaults of the staff when communication was not so prompt as in the big cities at home.

"The best soldier, I believe, is a primitive, honest fellow, uncomplicated by elaborate thought-machinery or superfluous ideas. He makes a simple and reliable tool which, though perhaps limited in its applications by its simplicity, will not get out of order at critical moments or commence to function erratically. . . . Ferocious, and at the same time willing to be led. A man who 'just doesn't care'—above all, who is not 'tame.' Such natural fighters, alas, do not come as often as once in a hundred men. The next best man is an unsophisticated, lusty fellow, not corrupted by notions of his own importance as a unit of the sovereign people or as the proprietor of an immortal soul—a fellow who will not unbalance, by faulty ratiocinations, the automatism in manoeuvre that has been drilled into him.

"The way to develop such a man seems to me to be to train him to respond as automatically as possible when he is commanded to perform the few simple manual operations connected with the employment of his arms in battle, to reduce his necessity for thought to a minimum, and to refrain from stuffing him with ideas except the simple idea that he had better kill his enemy quickly and ruthlessly, lest he be killed himself. He must be wrought upon with all the devices which build up subordination and discipline. . . .

"Before real improvements in military training are possible, there must be a scientific survey of the human material available for the manufacture of soldiers, and a great deal of investigation into the functioning of the brain and nerves under battle conditions. It may be pos-





sible, to some extent, to inculcate ferocity. The demonstrations of Colonel R. B. Campbell, Director of Bayonet Fighting for the British Army, were very instructive. He would take a platoon of sheepish-looking, poorly developed youths, and, by the exercise of his extraordinary persuasion, rapidly strip away the coverings of civilization from them, and turn them into fighting animals, eyes glaring, teeth bared, trembling, hating. He did not yell, or rant. He talked rapidly, evenly, in a low, confidential, compelling tone. 'That's where the liver is, if he runs away. . . . Two inches of steel, no more. . . . And mind you get the right place. . . . He's a dirty, greasy German waiter. . . . You've often seen him scraping the dishes. . . . He's raped your sister. . . . Don't give him a chance. . . . In the throat . . . right there . . . two inches . . . A-a-a-h-h. . . .' At the word the boys charged down on the row of stuffed sacks, stabbing madly but not blindly. As they lunged together the yell went up. . . . 'A-a-a-h-h' . . . a snarling, bestial sound that struck at the jelly of the spine. . . .

"On the whole, perhaps, it is an advantage for the private soldier to be able to read and write, but in war a little learning is a dangerous thing. The Germans, better educated than their enemies, were very susceptible to propaganda. The German soldiers I saw impressed me as rather moony and sentimental individuals. . . ."

The writer relates how officers "kidded" the troops to keep them in line and makes this forecast for the next war: "We'll kid them with the news that they are to die for the Glory of the Flag, for the defense of democracy, for their wives and firesides, to keep God's country inviolate, to save humanity from militarism . . . with the promise of the forgiveness of their sins and the hope of a glorious resurrection."

## Industrial Preparedness

An illuminating article by Grosvenor B. Clarkson, former Director of the Council for National Defense, was published in the *New York Times* for August 31 in which a vigorous argument is made for industrial preparedness for war. The article includes the following excerpt from a statement which Mr. Clarkson refers to as "very courteously furnished me by the War Department":

"Our military men are being thoroughly indoctrinated with the relative importance of munitions and man power. The army is sending officers to business schools where they take courses in business administration and specialize in economics. There has been established in Washington an army school called the Army Industrial College, which is destined to be one of the main centres for higher education for army officers. Its prime mission is teaching the economics of war and the principles underlying sound industrial preparedness. The Navy Department is keeping step with all these methods.

"Plans are now being prepared at the War Department by a selected group of officers for the most efficient utilization of America's material resources in time of war. In this work assistance is being rendered by the foremost leaders of America's industrial life. The mistakes and errors committed during the World War, as reported by former members of the War Industries Board and others with experience in the past conflict, have been analyzed and correct measures incorporated. Requirements in shortage of raw materials have been studied and plans are being provided for the obtaining of this

shortage. Over seven thousand factories have been listed for war production, with their consent, and have been assigned certain items which they are capable of manufacturing for production in time of war. . . .

"National, as well as State and local, Chambers of Commerce are cooperating; trade associations are lending every assistance; and individual corporations are doing everything in their power to assist this planning. . . .

"Normal business is not being interfered with, but there is being instilled in the minds of a thousand factory managers, superintendents and shop foremen the possibility that some day the country might need their services and that they might be called upon to manufacture articles of military equipment. They know what will be expected of them, and they will have all the data on which to commence immediate production. This is industrial preparedness brought as far as possible in harmony with American institutions and the spirit of democracy."

Mr. Clarkson's discussion concludes as follows:

"If we wish for a balanced preparedness, it is to be hoped that some of these things will burn a little deeper into the country's thought before next Defense Day. The first fact for the public to grasp is that from now on military preparedness without complete industrial preparedness is largely a wasteful gesture."

## General Pershing's Philosophy

The following excerpts are from an interview with General Pershing featured in the *New York Times* for Sunday, September 7:

"Let's just look at this fact, you and I and all of us. Let's not talk high-sounding phrases. Let's not use old words, shop-worn words, words like 'glory' and 'peace,' without thinking just exactly what they mean. There's no 'glory' in killing. There's no 'glory' in maiming men. There are the glorious dead, but they would be more glorious living. . . . It is up to the citizen to be the soldier when occasion calls. I am speaking, of course, primarily of every man who is physically able to serve as a soldier. There are 20,000,000 such men—a third of the men in any community, be it large as New York or small as a country village.

"These are the soldiers and these are the front-line citizens of America. Do we understand this? We must. They are one and the same. There can be no difference between soldier and citizen.

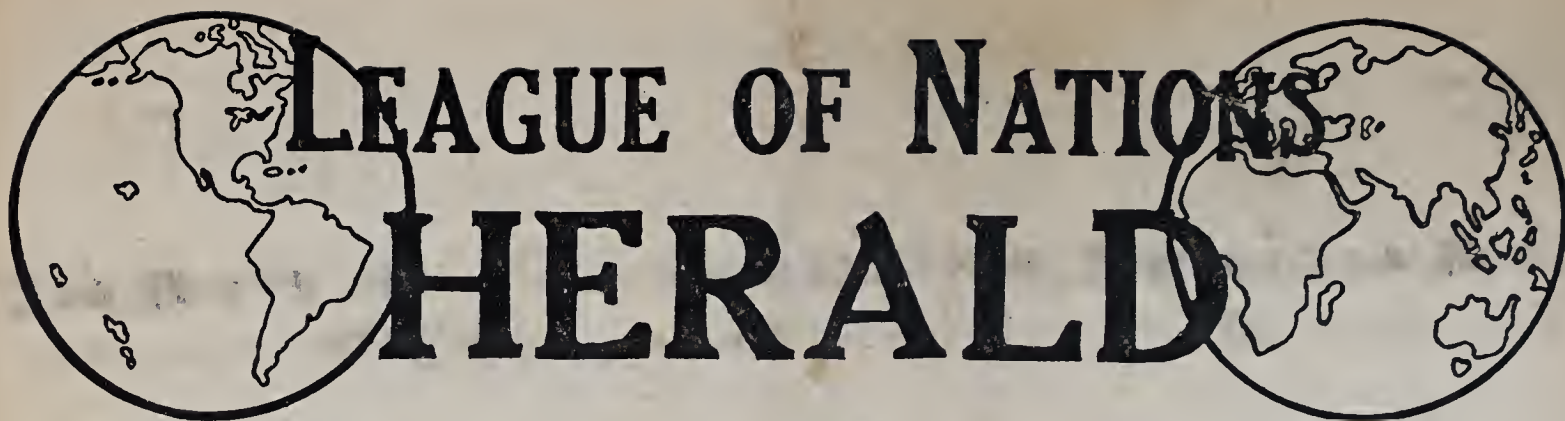
"And side by side with the realization of this fundamental truth we must realize that we have failed of our duty as citizens if we volunteer for service only when war actually arrives. Wars don't wait. They come upon a nation with the suddenness of a thunderstorm in a clear day. Each man of us, young or old, who has not already made himself ready to do his full duty is answerable for the needless suffering of his brothers and sisters.

"People sometimes ask me how I think the next war will be fought—with what new weapons, in what new ways. I haven't liked to answer them. That question is of no importance compared with the question of how to prevent wars. This question, so far more important, I'll answer gladly. I want to prevent, with all my heart and soul, any war in which America might be involved. And because I want that, I advocate the present plan of citizen preparation. That is a soldier's sole reason for advocating it."

The wide difference between the views of General Pershing as here expressed and the utterances of Rear Admiral Rodgers at Williamstown is unescapable.







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## Those Fifty-Four One-Time Nations

Fifty-four so-called nations are meeting this month at Geneva. They still call themselves nations. They make noises like nations. They still seem to think they are nations.

But of course they aren't! They are like the man of fable who was decapitated by a Damascus sword of such keen blade that his head remained on his shoulders and he was unconscious of his sad predicament until he sneezed and his head fell off.

These fifty-four one-time nations have been neatly decapitated! It was the League of Nations that did it! Although for four years they have been unconscious of the fact that they are no longer nations, one of these days something will happen, the delusion of sovereignty will fall off with a sickening thud and they will discover that they were undone on that sad day when they became members of the all-devouring League!

How do we know that all this is so? Because President Coolidge says it is and Secretary Hughes says it is and Candidate Dawes says so too.

Mr. Coolidge, in his letter of acceptance, says that "we have been unwilling to surrender our independence. We have refused to ratify the Covenant of the League of Nations."

Mr. Hughes, speaking of League membership, says that a determinative principle of our foreign policy is that of "independence."

Mr. Dawes, also speaking of the League, says that "whatever be our form of contact and conference with foreign nations, the independence and sovereignty of the United States, with the right to determine its own course of action, must at all times and under all circumstances not only be preserved by it but recognized by all other nations."

If joining the League would be for us a surrender of independence, a loss of sovereignty and a parting with our right to determine our own action, it, of course, means

the same to all the fifty-four nations now in the League. If independence, sovereignty and freedom of action would be lost to us if we were in, then they are lost to all these other nations that are in. It is clear that if these sad apprehensions have any substance at all, the fifty-four unsuspecting nations now in the League have parted with their nationhood and have established over themselves a towering super-state.

Did we say that Mr. Coolidge, Mr. Hughes and Mr. Dawes have declared that these countries have ceased to be nations? A close examination of their words will show that they have rather carefully refrained from saying so, or even from saying that this country would lose its independence if it too should join the League. They have only used language which is intended to carry this implication. They are simply, for some strange reason, repeating by rote or with sinister intent sentences they learned from isolationists like Lodge and Johnson and Shields and Reid and Moses and McCormick. Why anybody who wants to be called a leader, either by his contemporaries or by posterity, should today take anything out of the mouth of these men is indeed passing strange!

Do Messrs. Coolidge, Hughes and Dawes really believe that American citizens can be fooled and scared any longer by this bogie, this transparent lie? These three men know and all thoughtful Americans know that there isn't anything in it. But when shall we see an end to this childish effort to scare the American voter? How much longer must the American people submit to being made to appear like credulous and foolish children in the eyes of these fifty-four nations that know what the League really is and know that being members of it has deprived them of neither initiative, independence nor sovereignty?

W. H. S.



# Shall We Commit Suicide?

By THE RT. HON. WINSTON S. CHURCHILL

*Reprinted from Nash's Pall Mall Magazine of Sept. 24, 1924.*

*(The writer of this article was First Lord of the British Admiralty at the outbreak of hostilities in 1914, and later Secretary of War. He gives a picture of what future warfare will be that makes quite understandable the demands of European peoples for security against attack, and that furnishes a vivid background for the assertion in his closing paragraph that—  
"It is through the League of Nations alone that the path of safety and salvation can be found.")*

The story of the human race is War. Except for brief and precarious interludes, there has never been peace in the world; and before history began, murderous strife was universal and unending. But up to the present time the means of destruction at the disposal of man have not kept pace with his ferocity. Reciprocal extermination was impossible in the Stone Age. One cannot do much with a clumsy club. Besides, men were so scarce and hid so well that they were hard to find. They fled so fast that they were hard to catch. Human legs could only cover a certain distance each day. With the best will in the world to destroy his species, each man was restricted to a very limited area of activity. It was impossible to make any effective progress on these lines. Meanwhile one had to live and hunt and sleep. So on the balance the life-forces kept a steady lead over the forces of death, and gradually tribes, villages, and Governments were evolved.

The effort at destruction then entered upon a new phase. War became a collective enterprise. Roads were made which facilitated the movement of large numbers of men. Armies were organized. Many improvements in the apparatus of slaughter were devised. In particular the use of metal, and above all, steel, for piercing and cutting human flesh, opened out a promising field. Bows and arrows, slings, chariots, horses, and elephants lent a valuable assistance. But here again another set of checks began to operate. The Governments were not sufficiently secure. The Armies were liable to violent internal disagreements. It was extremely difficult to feed large numbers of men once they were concentrated, and consequently the efficiency of the efforts at destruction became fitful and was tremendously hampered by defective organization. Thus again

there was a balance on the credit side of life. The world rolled forward, and human society entered upon a vaster and more complex age.

It was not until the dawn of the twentieth century of the Christian era that War really began to enter into its kingdom as the potential destroyer of the human race. The organization of mankind into great States and Empires and the rise of nations to full collective consciousness enabled enterprises of slaughter to be planned and executed upon a scale with a perseverance never before imagined. All the noblest virtues of individuals were gathered together to strengthen the destructive capacity of the mass. Good finances, the resources of world-wide credit and trade, the accumulation of large capital reserves, made it possible to divert for considerable periods the energies of whole peoples to the task of Devastation. Democratic institutions gave expression to the will power of millions. Education not only brought the course of the conflict within the comprehension of everyone, but rendered each person serviceable in a high degree for the purpose in hand. The Press afforded a means of unification and of mutual encouragement; Religion, having discreetly avoided conflict on the fundamental issues, offered its encouragements and consolations, through all its forms, impartially to all the combatants. Lastly, Science unfolded her treasures and her secrets to the desperate demands of men and placed in their hands agencies and apparatus almost decisive in their character.

In consequence many novel features presented themselves. Instead of merely starving fortified towns, whole nations were methodically subjected, or sought to be subjected, to the process of reduction by famine. The entire population in one capacity or another took part

in the War; all were equally the object of attack. The Air opened paths along which death and terror could be carried far behind the lines of the actual armies, to women, children, the aged, the sick, who in earlier struggles would perforce have been left untouched. Marvelous organization of railroads, steamships, and motor vehicles placed and maintained tens of millions of men continuously in action. Healing and surgery in their exquisite developments returned them again and again to the shambles. Nothing was wasted that could contribute to the process of waste. The last dying kick was brought into military utility.

But all that happened in the four years of the Great War was only a prelude to what was preparing for the fifth year. The campaign of the year 1919 would have witnessed an immense accession to the power of destruction. Had the Germans retained the *moral* to make good their retreat to the Rhine, they would have been assaulted in the summer 1919 with forces and by methods incomparably more prodigious than any yet employed. Thousands of aeroplanes would have shattered their cities. Scores of thousands of cannon would have blasted their front. Arrangements were being made to carry simultaneously a quarter of a million men, together with all their requirements, continuously forward across country in mechanical vehicles moving ten or fifteen miles each day. Poison gases of incredible malignity, against which only a secret mask (which the Germans could not obtain in time) was proof, would have stifled all resistance and paralyzed all life on the hostile front subjected to attack. No doubt the Germans too had their plans. But the hour of wrath had passed. The signal of relief was given, and

*(Continued on next page)*



(Continued from page 2)  
the horrors of 1919 remain buried in the archives of the great antagonists.

The War stopped as suddenly and as universally as it had begun. The world lifted its head, surveyed the scene of ruin, and victors and vanquished alike drew breath. In a hundred laboratories, in a thousand arsenals, factories, and bureaus, men pulled themselves up with a jerk, turned from the task in which they had been absorbed. Their projects were put aside unfinished, unexecuted; but their knowledge was preserved; their data, calculations, and discoveries were hastily bundled together and docketed "for future reference" by the War Offices in every country. The campaign of 1919 was never fought; but its ideas go marching along. In every Army they are being explored, elaborated, refined under the surface of peace, and should war come again to the world it is not with the weapons and agencies prepared for 1919 that it will be fought, but with developments and extensions of these which will be incomparably more formidable and fatal.

It is in these circumstances that we have entered upon that period of Exhaustion which has been described as Peace. It gives us at any rate an opportunity to consider the general situation. Certain sombre facts emerge solid, inexorable, like the shapes of mountains from drifting mist. It is established that henceforward whole populations will take part in war, all doing their utmost, all subjected to the fury of the enemy. It is established that nations who believe their life is at stake will not be restrained from using any means to secure their existence. It is probable—nay, certain—that among the means which will next time be at their disposal will be agencies and processes of destruction wholesale, unlimited, and perhaps, once launched, uncontrollable.

Mankind has never been in this position before. Without having improved appreciably in virtue or enjoying wiser guidance, it has got into its hands for the first time the tools by which it can unfailingly accomplish its own extermination. That is the point in human destinies to which all the glories and toils of men have at last led them. They would do well to pause and ponder upon their new responsibilities. Death stands at attention, obedient,

expectant, ready to serve, ready to shear away the peoples *en masse*; ready, if called on, to pulverise, without hope of repair, what is left of civilization. He awaits only the word of command. He awaits it from a frail, bewildered being, long his victim, now—for one occasion only—his Master.

Let it not be thought for a moment that the danger of another explosion in Europe is passed. For the time being the stupor and the collapse which followed the World War ensured a sullen passivity, and the horror of war, its carnage and its tyrannies, have sunk into the soul, have dominated the mind of every class and in every race. But the causes of war have been in no way removed; indeed they are in some respects aggravated by the so-called Peace Treaty and the reactions following thereupon. Two mighty branches of the European family will never rest content with their existing situation. Russia, stripped of her Baltic Provinces, will, as the years pass by, brood incessantly upon the wars of Peter the Great. From one end of Germany to the other an intense hatred of France unites the whole population. This passion is fanned continuously by the action of the French Government. The enormous contingents of German youth growing to military manhood year by year are inspired by the fiercest sentiments, and the soul of Germany smoulders with dreams of a War of Liberation or Revenge. These ideas are restrained at the present moment only by physical impotence. France is armed to the teeth. Germany has been to a great extent disarmed and her military system broken up. The French hope to preserve this situation by their technical military apparatus, by their black troops, and by a system of alliances with the smaller States of Europe; and for the present at any rate overwhelming force is on their side. But physical force alone, unsustained by world opinion, affords no durable foundation for security. Germany is a far stronger entity than France, and cannot be kept in permanent subjugation.

"Wars," said a distinguished American to me last summer, "are fought with Steel; weapons may change, but Steel remains the core of all modern warfare. France has got the Steel of Europe, and Ger-

many has lost it. Here, at any rate, is an element of permanency." "Are you sure," I asked, "that wars of the future will be fought with Steel?" A few weeks later I talked with a German. "What about Aluminium?" he replied. "Some think," he said, "that the next war will be fought with Electricity." And on this a vista opens out of electrical rays which could paralyse the engines of a motor car, could claw down aeroplanes from the sky, and conceivably be made destructive of human life or human vision. Then there are Explosives. Have we reached the end? Has Science turned its last page on them? May there not be methods of using explosive energy incomparably more intense than anything heretofore discovered? Might not a bomb no bigger than an orange be found to possess a secret power to destroy a whole block of buildings—nay to concentrate the force of a thousand tons of cordite and blast a township at a stroke? Could not explosives even of the existing type be guided automatically in flying machines by wireless or other rays, without a human pilot, in ceaseless procession upon a hostile city, arsenal, camp, or dockyard?

As for Poison Gas and Chemical Warfare in all its forms, only the first chapter has been written of a terrible book. Certainly every one of these new avenues to destruction is being studied on both sides of the Rhine, with all the science and patience of which man is capable. And why should it be supposed that these resources will be limited to Inorganic Chemistry? A study of Disease—of Pestilences methodically prepared and deliberately launched upon man and beast—is certainly being pursued in the laboratories of more than one great country. Blight to destroy crops, Anthrax to slay horses and cattle, Plague to poison not armies only but whole districts—such are the lines along which military science is remorselessly advancing.

It is evident that whereas an equally contested war under such conditions might work the ruin of the world and cause an immeasurable diminution of the human race, the possession by one side of some overwhelming scientific advantage would lead to the complete enslavement of the unwary party. Not only are the powers now in the

(Continued on page 8)



# Our Non-Partisan Political Campaign

The Directors and Executive Committee of the League of Nations Non-Partisan Association have adopted a plan of non-partisan political activity in which they ask the help of every member. This was decided on after months of careful consideration, during which the methods so successfully used by the League of Nations Union of Great Britain were studied. In Great Britain, within a single parliamentary campaign, the complexion of the House of Commons towards the League was so changed that from a majority either opposed or indifferent to it, there remained but a mere handful who were not warm supporters and advocates.

The campaign has already been explained in a first page article in the HERALD of September 1st—"Definite Political Work," by Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw. It is a method of informing and questioning candidates.

## Need for Informing Candidates

The average Congressional candidate and many, or most, Senatorial candidates have little exact information regarding either World Court or League of Nations. The campaign of malicious misrepresentation has had far-reaching results. Candidates do not understand such fundamental facts as that the League acts by unanimity and not by majority; that it is not a super-state, but a continuous sys-

tem of international conferences; that it claims no power to require contribution of ships or troops for any purpose; that League and Court are as firmly established as the Congress and Supreme Court at Washington, and no more likely to be abandoned; that the League is the principal world agency for carrying on international business, and that a non-member nation has little influence in world councils; that the League's International Labor Office is successfully reducing unfair competition by the more populous and low-wage nations with the better-paid labor of the United States.

Our Officers and Board earnestly request our members in every state to inform their Senatorial candidates regarding these facts, and in every Congressional district to inform Congressional candidates. Sufficient facts for use with the candidates are found in this issue of the HERALD, under the headings:

"Things That Have Not Happened and Why."

"Things That Have Happened and How."

"Things That Will Happen and When."

## Congressional District Committees

Our Board and Officers earnestly desire the formation in all Congressional districts in the United States,

by early October, of non-partisan committees of our members and other pro-leaguers, for the purpose of interviewing, informing and questioning Senatorial and Congressional candidates. This Association now has members in nearly or quite all of the 435 Congressional districts of the country. There are in each of them many other intelligent and informed pro-league men and women whom we have not yet been able to reach and enlist. We ask our present members to enlist them now, to form committees, and to carry out the program that has been explained.

Existing branches of our Association—State, City and Congressional—are asked to lead in this matter. But no friend of Court and League should wait for the initiative of others. If several committees are formed in a single district, no harm is done. They should act immediately and vigorously, and can later be combined. Headquarters should be notified of action taken, but no permission needs to be asked for in advance.

Those who wish to inquire regarding committees that may already be formed may write to State or National Headquarters. But, this means loss of time. It is better to act and write afterwards.

(Continued on next page)

## Irreconcilable Isolationists

POINDEXTER .....	Enjoying Private Life
SHERMAN .....	Retired
FRANCE .....	Ditto
GORE .....	Defeated in 1920, Ran Poor Third in August, 1924, for Nomination
FALL .....	Indicted
McCORMICK .....	Lame Duck, Defeated for Nomination
JOHNSON .....	Failed to Carry His Own State, Very Quiet
MOSES .....	Defeated for Delegate to Convention
REED .....	Ditto
LODGE .....	Begged for Mercy at Cleveland
BRANDAGEE .....	Ran Way Behind His Ticket
SHIELDS .....	Defeated by Gen. Tyson, August, 1924
BORAH .....	Next

You can't fool all the people all the time.

Facts play havoc with fallacies.

Regardless of party, the people are defeating those who deceived them.

## League of Nations Herald

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Associate Editor

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## Important Meetings

Carrying out the policy announced in the HERALD of September first under the heading "We Plan for Larger Things," three meetings, one of members, another of the Board of Directors, and another of speakers will be held in New York on Tuesday, October 7.

The meeting of members will be for the purpose of making changes in the article of incorporation and by-laws, and of electing additional members of the Board. In fulfillment of the requirements of the laws of New York the following notice is being published for three successive weeks in the *Evening Post* and *World*:

### THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS NON-PARTISAN ASSOCIATION

#### NOTICE OF SPECIAL MEETING OF MEMBERS

Notice is hereby given that a special meeting of the members of the League of Nations Non-Partisan Association will be held at the Hotel Astor, Broadway and Forty-fifth Street, New York City, on the seventh day of October, 1924, at twelve noon, for the purpose of considering and voting upon a resolution to amend and alter its certificate of incorporation so as to increase the number of directors of the association from thirty to one hundred and for the transaction of such other business as may properly come before said meeting.

GEORGE W. WICKERSHAM,  
President of Council.

### Speakers Fresh from Geneva

Following the twelve o'clock business meeting and a luncheon that will be served at a cost of \$1.50 per cover, the President of the Association, Judge John H. Clarke, the President of the Council, Honorable George W. Wickersham, the Assistant-Director, Mr. Bauer and other officers and members who will just have returned from the meeting of the League's Assembly at Geneva, will report what they have seen and give their impressions and conclusions.

### Board Meeting

At four o'clock a meeting of the Board, both old and new members, will be held for organization and any action necessary to give additional momentum to the pre-election campaign explained elsewhere in this issue of the HERALD and by Mrs. Laidlaw in the issue of September first.

### Speakers' Conference

The Speakers' Conference will take place at 10 o'clock in the morning at the office of the Association, 6 East 39th Street, not at the Hotel Astor, where other meetings will take place.

(Continued from page 4)

### Friendly Conference with Candidates

There is no thought in the minds of our Officers and Board of inaugurating a campaign of threatening or heckling candidates. It is a friendly and helpful conference of constituents and candidates that is asked for. Candidates should be made to know that in their districts are large numbers of intelligent, informed and earnest pro-Court and pro-League men and women who wish their candidates also to be informed, and who demand that their representative shall deal with international affairs on the basis of fact and without partisanship. Our Officers and Board believe, however, that every conference with candidates should close with direct questions as to their attitude towards World Court and League of Nations. They have, therefore, prepared the following questions, which it is hoped will be put to candidates:

1. Are you in favor of the United States joining the Permanent

Court of International Justice, situated at The Hague?

- (a) With the reservations suggested by Mr. Harding and Mr. Hughes?
  - (b) With other reservations? If so, what?
2. Are you in favor of the United States joining the League of Nations?
    - (a) Without reservations?
    - (b) With the Lodge Reservations?
    - (c) With such other reservations as the Administration and Senate may deem wise, provided only that they be consistent with our Constitution and consonant with the dignity and honor, the moral responsibility and power of our Republic?

### Congressional Candidates

It is of course understood that members of the lower house do not vote on such questions as our entrance into the World Court or the League of Nations. They do, however, have a marked influence with the Senators who represent their states at Washington, since

Congressmen are in closer touch than Senators with the opinion of their districts. Congressional candidates therefore should be asked whether, in case of election, they would represent to Senators the convictions of their constituents on international questions. Whatever their personal attitude towards Court and League may be, it is legitimate that their constituents should demand a pledge that they will do this.

—W. H. S.

### List of Candidates

To expedite the interviewing of candidates as requested by the officers and Board of the League of Nations Non-Partisan Association, the HERALD hopes to print in its next edition a complete list of Senatorial and Congressional candidates in all states.

Names and addresses of candidates are being assembled as rapidly as possible after their nominations at primaries.

The Secretaries will be grateful to members who can send this information for their states or districts.



# Things That Have Not Happened and Why

The following nations have not joined the League of Nations:

Afghanistan	Ecuador	Germany	Mexico	Turkey
Dominican Republic	Egypt	The Hedjaz	Russia	United States

## Why did not the United States join the League?

Because of statements made by some and believed by others, that the League:

- Would be a super-state having authority over our Government.
- Would call on American armies to settle quarrels between foreign nations.
- Would violate the Monroe Doctrine.
- Would give the British Empire six votes to our one.
- Would involve us in constant warfare.
- Would make the colored races supreme over the white race.
- Would legalize the immoral traffic in unfortunate women and children.

## Has Any of These Things Happened?

If the objections to the League were founded on fact they would have been true with respect to nations which have been members of the League for four years. But in this period the League has not:

- Been set up as a super-state over any national government.
- Utilized the troops of its members for any purpose.
- Violated or sought to violate the Monroe Doctrine.
- Given Great Britain six votes to any nation's one in any important matter.
- Involved any nation in foreign warfare.
- Brought the white and colored races into a moment's opposition.
- Enslaved or harmed a single woman or child.

## Why These Things Have Not Happened

None of these things has happened for the reason that they were neither possible nor even contemplated under the Covenant of the League of Nations.

# Things That Have Happened and How

Five-sixths of the nations comprising four-fifths of mankind have joined the League. They are:

Abyssinia	Chile	Guatemala	Lithuania	Portugal
Albania	China	Haiti	Luxemburg	Rumania
Argentina	Colombia	Honduras	Netherlands	Salvador
Australia	Costa Rica	Hungary	New Zealand	Siam
Austria	Cuba	India	Nicaragua	South Africa
Belgium	Czechoslovakia	Irish Free State	Norway	Spain
Bolivia	Denmark	Italy	Panama	Sweden
Brazil	Esthonia	Japan	Paraguay	Switzerland
British Empire	Finland	Jugoslavia	Persia	Uruguay
Bulgaria	France	Latvia	Peru	Venezuela
Canada	Greece	Liberia	Poland	

In the four years that the League has been in existence it has, without using a single soldier or spending a single dollar for military purposes, accomplished the following:

## Prevented Six Wars

The League has handled this number of controversies, in which war was threatened or actually begun. They are as follows:

- Between Sweden and Finland over the Aaland Islands.
- Between Poland and Lithuania over the Vilna District.
- Between Poland and Germany over Silesia.
- Between Albania and Jugoslavia over Albanian boundaries.
- Rumania, Jugoslavia and Greece against Bulgaria over Bulgarian refugees.
- Between Italy and Greece over the murder of Italian officers. The League so successfully mobilized the opinion of the world that the trouble was settled within a month.

(Continued on next page)



*(Continued from page 6)*

### **Created the World Court**

In February, 1922, this Court was opened at The Hague, with a constitution drawn up by the League's committee of jurists of which Elihu Root was an influential member. For twenty-five years our Government had tried to establish a World Court without success.

### **Improved World Economic Conditions**

In the face of the difficulties which would have proved unsurmountable to any but a cooperating world, the League has given Austria, which was on the point of collapse, the opportunity to reconstruct its economic life.

It is doing the same thing for Hungary.

Practically all the methods of economic reconstruction that have helped to place Europe on its feet, including the basic principles of the "Dawes Plan" for reparation payments, were worked out by the League.

### **Published Secret Treaties**

The League has established the rule of publicity for international agreements, by the registration and publication of seven hundred treaties made among its members.

### **Supported Governments in Disputed Areas**

The League is the ultimate authority, until 1935, for the Government of the Saar Valley, with 650,000 inhabitants; and the Free State of Danzig, with 200,000 inhabitants, is under the protection and guaranty of the League.

### **Sought the Solution of Disarmament Problems**

The League has undertaken to create agreements among all the nations of the world for the reduction of armaments. Two plans are now under consideration.

The refusal of the United States Government to give adequate cooperation has greatly retarded this work.

### **Administered Mandates**

The League considered and approved the terms of Mandates for the governing of former German protectorates in the interest of the backward peoples that inhabit them. It constituted a Mandates Commission which ensures the rightful carrying out of these "trusts."

### **Created Humanitarian Cooperation**

The League has organized an international campaign against the distribution of opium and other habit-forming drugs.

It prevented the spread of typhus and cholera from Poland and Russia to the Western World.

It has aided the distribution of medical knowledge and improved health conditions by obtaining the cooperation of medical experts and representatives of public health laboratories the world over.

It has organized an international campaign against the White Slave traffic.

It restored to their homes 400,000 war prisoners who were in every sort of misery in Russia.

It aided and succored almost countless refugees—one and a half million Russians, hundreds of thousands of Greeks, Armenians, etc.

It founded a model settlement for 15,000 refugees in Western Thrace.

It has created a Greek Refugee Settlement Scheme for the self-supporting settlement of one million Greeks expelled from Turkish territory.

### **Is Reducing Unfair Competition**

The League is reducing unfair competition by the more populous and low-wage nations with the better-paid labor of the United States. This is done through an international labor organization composed of representatives of governments, of employers and of workers, which serves as a central agency for the study and improvement of labor conditions and of relations between employers and wage-earners, chiefly among the low-wage nations.

### **How Have These Things Been Accomplished?**

By bringing the world together in continuous conferences to promote peace and maintain justice. The League of Nations is the first agency in history that has been able to do this.

*(Continued on next page)*



(Continued from page 4)

## Things That Will Happen and When

The Government at first refused even to acknowledge communications from the League. It then denied that it would be legal to cooperate with it in any way. It has now begun to cooperate regularly in humanitarian projects, notably in the control of narcotics and the traffic in women and children.

For three years the Administration had nothing to do with the World Court. In 1921 it restrained the American Hague judges from making nominations for judges of the World Court. It finally allowed our Hague judges to nominate a candidate to fill a vacancy. Both Republican and Democratic Parties have at last, in their national platforms, declared for American membership.

### Why this change in official attitude?

Because the American people demanded it and the Government did not dare to continue its policy of isolation.

But the Administration has not yet begun to cooperate with the League in its main task, which is the prevention of war. When will it begin?

When the American people demand it with such vehemence that the politicians no longer dare to refuse.

(Continued from page 3)

hand of man capable of destroying the life of nations, but for the first time they afford to one group of civilized men the opportunity of reducing their opponents to absolute helplessness.

In barbarous times superior martial virtues—physical strength, courage, skill, discipline—were required to secure such a supremacy; and in the hard evolution of mankind the best and fittest stocks came to the fore. But no such saving guarantee exists to-day. There is no reason why a base, degenerate, immoral race should not make an enemy far above them in quality the prostrate subject of their caprice or tyranny, simply because they happened to be possessed at a given moment of some new death-dealing or terror-working process and were ruthless in its employment. The liberties of men are no longer to be guarded by their natural qualities, but by their dodges; and superior virtue and valor may fall an easy prey to the latest diabolical trick.

In the sombre paths of destructive science there was one new turning-point which seemed to promise a corrective to these mortal tendencies. It might have been hoped that the electro-magnetic waves would in certain scales be found capable of detonating explosives of all kinds from a great distance. Were such a process discovered in time to become common property, War would in important respects return again to the crude but healthy limits of the barbarous ages.

The sword, the spear, the bludgeon, and above all *the fighting man*, would regain at a bound their old sovereignty. But it is depressing to learn that the categories into which these rays are divided are now so fully explored that there is not much expectation of this. All the hideousness of the Explosive era will continue; and to it will surely be added the gruesome complications of Poison and of Pestilence scientifically applied.

Such, then, is the peril with which mankind menaces itself. Means of destruction incalculable in their effects, wholesale and frightful in their character, and unrelated to any form of human merit: the march of Science unfolding ever more appalling possibilities; and the fires of hatred burning deep in the hearts of some of the greatest peoples of the world, fanned by continual provocation and unceasing fear and fed by the deepest sense of national wrong or national danger! On the other hand, there is the blessed respite of Exhaustion, offering to the nations a final chance to control their destinies and avert what may well be a general doom. Surely if a sense of self-preservation still exists among men, if the will to live resides not merely in individuals or nations but in humanity as a whole, the prevention of the supreme catastrophe ought to be the paramount object of all endeavour.

Against the gathering but still distant tempest the League of Nations, deserted by the United States, scorned by Soviet Russia, flouted

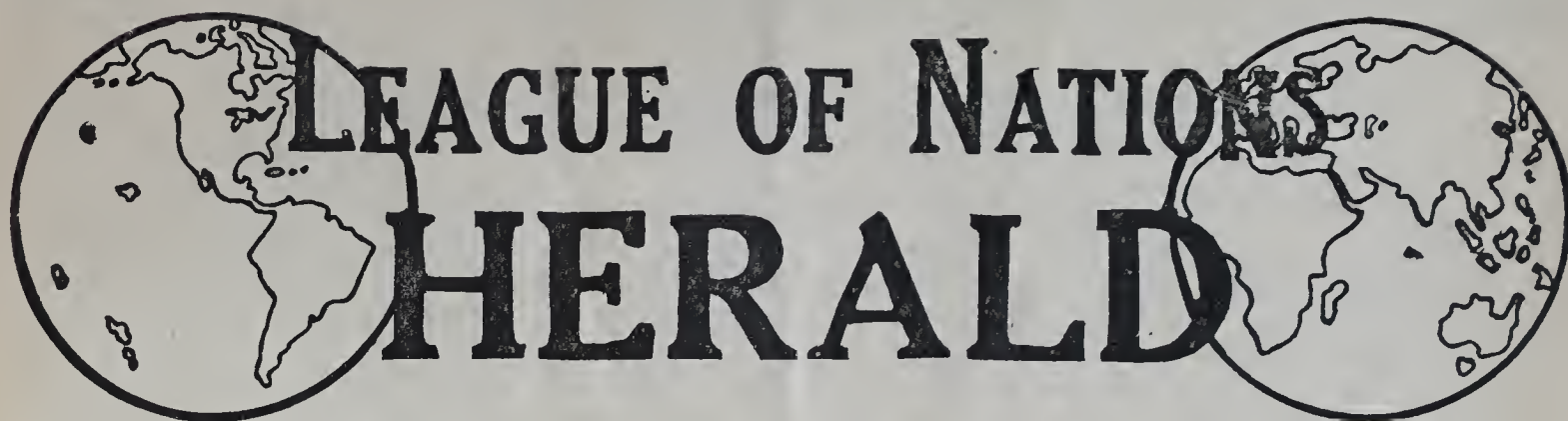
by Italy, distrusted equally by France and Germany, raises feebly but faithfully its standards of sanity and hope. Its structure, airy and unsubstantial, framed of shining but too often visionary idealism, is in its present form incapable of guarding the world from its dangers and of protecting mankind from itself. Yet it is through the League of Nations alone that the path to safety and salvation can be found. To sustain and aid the League of Nations is the duty of all. To reinforce it and bring it into vital and practical relation with actual world-politics by sincere agreements and understanding between the great Powers, between the leading races, should be the first aim of all who wish to spare their children torments and disasters compared to which those we have suffered will be but a pale preliminary.

### The Fifth Assembly

Succeeding issues of the HERALD will contain authoritative and analytical articles covering the meetings of the Assembly of the League of Nations that have been held at Geneva during the month of September.

The discussions on Security and Disarmament, which constitute the main features of this year's Assembly, make this the most important meeting that has been held. We are fortunate that such authorities as Judge Clarke, Mr. Wickersham and Professor Hudson have been in attendance and will contribute articles to the HERALD.





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# The League in Normal Action

By JOHN PALMER GAVIT

This article on the Opium Conferences that have been in progress during the past three months at Geneva, is the first of a series of two or more THE HERALD will present to its readers, that will cover the whole matter from the American standpoint. The writer, Mr. John Palmer Gavit, has been in Geneva during the entire period of the conferences and is well qualified to clarify and illuminate the subject for American readers. Since the importance of the matter is not ephemeral, there is no disadvantage, but rather an advantage in having the articles appear after the event, rather than during the conferences, for, as Mr. Gavit says in a communication in the New York Times of February 19th, "from now on indefinitely Opium is a first-page story."—Editor.

The League of Nations functioning normally as a forum and opportunity and machinery for the discussion of matters of common interest to the Nations. Discussion which may or may not result in agreement or satisfactory action.

And, best of all, the United States of America at last in dignified relations with the League, and participating with full and responsible membership in such discussion under the auspices of the League.

These things seem to me outstanding in the great International Opium Conference, which has occupied the stage of Geneva since the middle of November and whose outcome is, at this moment of writing, to say the least uncertain. But whatever its outcome, the broad aspects of it are full of significance.

Strictly speaking, this Conference—much less the so-called First Conference which immediately preceded it—is not a meeting of the League of Nations at all, even though it is held at the invitation of the League, in the League Building, and served by the League Secretariat. Nevertheless, all but two or three of the important members of the League are represented by their plenipotentiaries. So also are five of the eight Nations which are not mem-

bers—United States, Germany, Turkey, Egypt and Ecuador.

In other words, virtually the entire civilized world is here by its legally appointed plenipotentiaries, to discuss and take new measures concerning a question of the gravest importance to the welfare of mankind; namely, the control of the production, manufacture, distribution and consumption of habit-forming drugs, particularly opium and its derivatives, and cocaine, in face of the fact that certainly not less than ten times as much of these is produced annually as is needed for the legitimate uses of medicine and science.

Nobody proposes or supposes that by the action of even so representative a body, any compulsion can be exerted, or even attempted, against any individual Nation contrary to its will or in supervision of its sovereignty. Be the outcome in an agreed treaty as drastic and far-reaching (on paper) as it may;—any participating Nation in signing the document may make such reservation as it will, for good reasons or for no expressed reason at all; or without explanation or apology may refuse to sign at all. And even after signing with or without reservation by its own plenipoten-

tiary, any Nation may refuse or fail to ratify it. The Nations not participating in the Conference may sign or reserve or ratify, or not, exactly to please themselves. In this respect, moreover, Switzerland, Luxemburg or the Free City of Danzig, is as free to accept, reject or modify the findings of the Conference so far as concerns itself, as is Great Britain or the United States.

The only Power superior to the Conference or to any Government participating or not participating therein is the power of the Public Opinion of the world and of each Nation separately, to pass judgment upon its work and to wreak vengeance upon representatives or Governments false to that opinion.

There is a tendency on the part of persons enthusiastic about the League of Nations to feel and talk as if the creation of the League had somehow suddenly installed the Millennium; as if under its aegis in Geneva had begun the sway of universal brotherhood and unselfishness. As if racial and national jealousies and ambitions and the heritage of suspicion out of the centuries had been magically distilled out of the complex of international re-

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## The League in Normal Action—Continued from page 1

lations. As if mutual understanding and acquaintance had become a fact overnight.

Would that it were so. Would that some machinery might be devised to save the time and labor of studying out the merits of questions about which Nations differ, of composing ancient differences of mind and interest, of getting acquainted and learning how to exchange points of view, see each his own case from the standpoint of the other, and *together* work out a world state of mind. There is no magic formula for such a beneficence. Remember that the League of Nations is not an organization of the super-men of altruism; but of the Nations as they are; the actual human beings who gather upon its occasions are officially-designated representatives of the actual Governments in power for the time being. Even personally they vary like any other large group, in all the human qualities.

That is precisely the point. It is an epoch-making—certainly an epoch-marking—thing that at last a device has been found, an opportunity and a machinery, for getting together and discussing in public the very things which have hitherto kept the peoples apart and have been the occasions for the suspicions, the misunderstandings and the conflicts of interest that lead to war.

Europe has had scores of congresses and conferences in which kings and their politicians have met in secret to divide the spoils of war, to distribute their jurisdictions and confirm or swap their fields of oppression. This is obviously different. Already the practice of the League of Nations in its own meet-

ings has created a new atmosphere of publicity, in which the night-crawlers cannot function either comfortably or efficiently. When you let in the light, you do not have to chase away or bother about the sow-bugs; they can't stand light; automatically they go away in search of more congenial surroundings. Here at last is in operation a new technique of open discussion and recorded votes; in which at least ostensibly the smallest Power is on a par with the greatest in freedom of speech and voting-power.

In this particular case, perhaps the most difficult, intricate and greed-besotted subject within the world's concern (with the possible exception of the manufacture and traffic in arms) has been dragged out of the darkness and Oriental mystery which hitherto have surrounded it. Every Nation concerned in any phase of the business, whether as sinning or sinned against, or both, has been forced by the nature and logic of the occasion, and by the established atmosphere of the League of Nations, to come into the open, explain its position, and if need be take the defensive on a moral issue. The gain is immense.

The American people will have occasion on the whole to be proud of its own participation in this business. While not always tactful, while not always exhibiting full realization of the fact that it was not participating in a political convention governed by majority vote; while leaving something to be desired in respect of diplomatic manners—nevertheless, its delegation has upheld and stoutly fought for the American standard. The standard that *any use of these habit-*

*forming drugs not strictly medical or scientific is an abuse*, and that fidelity to the pledges of the Hague Convention of 1912 requires drastic reform of the conduct of the Governments having possessions in the Far East, with reference to production and use of opium, as well as radical steps for the limitation of the manufacture and distribution of the drugs which the Western Nations, including the United States, make in their pharmaceutical laboratories at home. The Americans have led, and have had fine support from many other delegations, in resistance to every effort to evade or becloud the issue.

Such is the significance of this great Conference, and such is the illustration which America has given of its ability to help the world of which it is an important part, to solve its problems. Whatever may come of it—even if at last the ponderous labor shall have brought forth a mouse, or nothing concrete at all, it will have been worth while.

And the League of Nations will have done it. Without definite action of its own, or exercise of any power whatever except that of affording initiative, opportunity and facilities (including the preliminary gathering of a vast body of information which the Secretariat has for the first time made available for the world-public), it has disclosed and helped to ventilate a subject hitherto much under cover, in which every man, woman and child in the world has a vital interest.

This is the normal business of the League of Nations. This is the kind of thing Americans believe in and do—at home. We shall be participating in it more and more. We have stood too long aloof.

## The "Herald" for "Headway"

Our new readers will probably be interested in the plan proposed by the League of Nations Union of Great Britain whereby readers of The League of Nations HERALD can exchange their copies from month to month for current numbers of *Headway*, the organ of the League of Nations Union in Great Britain.

The plan is that a member of

their Union and a member of our Association who are willing to part with their copies after reading shall be given each other's names and that each shall post his copy to the other from month to month. Our Association approved the idea and authorized the insertion of this notice. It is a plan that is likely to lead to some warm international

friendships and so has a collateral advantage.

Readers of The League of Nations HERALD who desire to take advantage of the arrangement should send their names to this office. The names will then be sent to the Union's office in London where each will be matched with an English reader of *Headway* who has been registered for the exchange.



# We Must Cooperate

By GEORGE W. WICKERSHAM

One of the criticisms leveled against the Geneva Protocol, frequently by those who would be its admirers, is that it still countenances the use of force in international relations. The framers of the Protocol pledge themselves not to resort to war if they should have a quarrel with another state. They have at present no reason to doubt that any of their own group would play false to that pledge.

But all law-givers, in prescribing what shall be the rule, also have as true statesmen to envisage the possibility that someone may break the law, and therefore to make provision for such an emergency. That is a circumstance which faces as much the would-be makers of international law as the makers of national legislation. The nations assembled at Geneva agreed that peaceful settlement of disputes shall henceforth be the rule and that any state breaking that rule shall be considered as guilty of aggression, and, therefore, as an outlaw nation.

How was the rule of peace to be secured against such wanton defiance? Are we in our national communities satisfied with getting a criminal branded as such by the courts and then setting him free to repeat his evil pleasure? The members of the League could not ignore that question and therefore provided penalties against an aggressor in accordance with the provisions of the protocol. When a state has been formally declared to be guilty of such aggression, the signatories will be bound to apply economic sanctions and they may also, if necessary and if called upon, use military pressure.

It is this door left open to the use of force which is disturbing so many friends of peace. Now it is obvious that no one would contemplate using armed force as long as economic weapons would prove sufficient for keeping the peace. Students of politics agree that in these times

of economic interdependence economic sanctions would normally prove adequate for the purpose. But they will be effective only if applied systematically and loyally by all concerned. Generally speaking, economic measures would be two-fold, they would involve assistance to the state attacked and a denial of economic facilities to the aggressor. But what would avail a refusal, let us say, of money and raw materials by one group of states, if another group were at the same time to open their purses and warehouses to the war-making state? Clearly the risk implied in an all-around severance of economic relations would be most effective in making a government think twice before attacking another with arms, but that bloodless restraint will fail precisely in proportion as the cooperation of the civilized states in applying economic sanctions remains doubtful.

That is a circumstance to which Americans must apply their minds whether they are for or against the League. If the Protocol, or some similar measure, were adopted in Europe there is every reason to believe that its signatories would act upon it. But their hope and desire to check war by applying economic pressure will be defeated as long as America claims for herself freedom of action in every circumstance. America's economic resources are so tremendous that if really open to a European state they would enable it easily to defy and resist economic outlawry by the other European countries. In that way a situation would arise in which the nations which form the League would either have to give up the task of enforcing peace, or would have to intensify their pressure by passing from economic non-intercourse to military imposition.

Americans who criticize the lingering intention to use force on behalf of the League are therefore

faced with a serious problem of conscience. They will have to find a way out of the dilemma that the eventual use of military force against an aggressor cannot be altogether proscribed until it had been proved that economic measures suffice for keeping the peace, and that economic measures will fail to keep the peace in Europe as long as the American market remains open to a would-be or actual European war-maker. We have so far refused to help the League in keeping the peace; the question now is whether we are actually to interfere with the League when, in a crisis, it attempts to do so.

By many it is still desired that we shall not get mixed up in European politics while the European house is still in disorder. If that desire is sincere the principle should be applied to the full and we should not interfere with the European states when they are trying to put their house in order. It would seem that the least we can do is to make it known that we would not hamper the League in its work of peace. We might properly ask to be informed on what grounds any European state came in some eventual case to be declared an aggressor; and we may also reserve our free judgment as to that sentence. But once we have satisfied ourselves that the outlawed state has truly been guilty of actual or intended attack upon its neighbors, it would be our moral duty towards the civilized world not to encourage and sustain such aggression by feeding it with our money and products. Unless some such mild promise is forthcoming economic sanctions will not acquire great potential force in the hands of the League. And unless economic means become reliably effective the League will have to maintain a reserve of armed force and its members will not be able to go in the way of disarmament as far as they might otherwise wish to do.

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**These two ideas—the effective prevention of war and the effective establishment of international justice—lie at the foundation of the Covenant of the League of Nations.**



## What Ails Secretary Wilbur?

Secretary Wilbur's statement of February 1st denying that modern chemical warfare can have any such terrors for a civil population as is now generally assumed, necessarily raises the question why he thought it necessary either to speak at all on the subject or to do it in the vein of levity that marked his words.

From the Secretary's statement of half a column in the *New York Times* we quote the following:

It is stated that in the next war whole cities and whole populations will be obliterated by the awful means of warfare devised by science: that poison gas and disease germs and high explosives will do their dreadful work in destroying not only troops but civilians, men, women and children as well.

These statements are not true.

\* \* \* \*

It is impossible to transport or to apply sufficient quantities of such poison gas to poison the whole population of cities or of countries even if it could be produced.

The idea is ridiculous and the

question should be relegated to the field of bedtime stories of the bogey man who will get you if you don't watch out. There is no use of scaring ourselves or allowing our women and children to be frightened by such stories.

But Secretary Wilbur's very positive words of reassurance fail to agree with the conclusion of the experts. Under the title "Warfare by Poison" we summarize, in this issue of the *HERALD*, a report of the Temporary Mixed Commission on Armaments appointed by the League of Nations. This Commission is a very conservative and capable body of men and the matter of gas warfare had for several years been before them when this report was drawn up. The report contains such statements as the following, either their own or quoted by them.

It is doubtful whether the peoples of the world are aware of the power of this weapon (the dropping from aircraft of bombs or other containers filled with noxious products) and the danger which threatens them.

We have seen in the great war nothing approaching the probabilities of destruction of manufacturing centers and civil populations that would be likely in case another great conflict should occur.

Technically there does not appear to be any reason why a poison gas attack from the air or by long range guns used in modern warfare, either on land or sea, might not be very effectively carried out against a great city.

President Coolidge advised the other day that the men and women who survived the recent conflict and know what war is shall create barriers against a new war before war's horrors are forgotten. Secretary Wilbur seems already to have forgotten, or else to conceive the duty of a Secretary of the Navy to be to soothe the people into forgetfulness. Is it the mental or the moral processes of the defenders of war that make their words sound so strange to the average man? And does a Navy Secretary need to defend war?

W. H. S.

**The world cannot stand still—civilization specializes as it advances and mankind must choose whether it is to specialize in preparing for war or in organizing peace.**

ROTH WILLIAMS.

## World Peace

*(From the Legislative Forum Journal, December, 1924)*

We believe profoundly in world peace. We believe that war should be outlawed. We believe that every citizen should give of his time and money, if necessary, to carry the proper information to the citizenry of our country. We believe in the World Court, an Association of Nations, the League of Nations. Any league, association, court or what-not that will forever end war. The League of Nations has been functioning for several years. Some fifty-four nations are members thereof. The United States is one of the very few without. Our entrance in the beginning would have saved the troubles of

the Near East, or at least would have caused a settlement without bloodshed. We are convinced that a few irreconcilables in the United States Senate do not represent the great rank and file of the nation. We have been before many audiences, spoke over sixteen states, mentioned the League of Nations and the World Court and not one single objection was raised. The world wants peace, it wants rest. The sooner the better. Take the question up in your various crafts, groups, clubs and organizations. The question will not down. It will be with us until settled and settled in the right way.

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## Warfare by Poison

Far too little attention has so far been attracted to the reports on Chemical Warfare of the League of Nations Temporary Mixed Commission on Armaments. This was a question which was, of course, before the Washington Conference, which, however, failed to reach any conclusions as to effective methods for restricting the use of gases and chemicals whose manufacture could be carried on in all kinds of industrial establishments converted with little difficulty and very brief delay to war purposes. The Second Assembly, which adopted a resolution on the subject, was under no illusion regarding the possibilities. All it asked was that the Temporary Mixed Commission should address an appeal to scientists of the world to publish their discoveries in poison gas and similar subjects "so as to minimize the likelihood of their being used in any future war." The Commission duly executed this mandate and itself came to the convinced conclusion that to attempt to control production of poison gas and similar agents was futile, but that an important psychological effect might be created by plain statements of what chemical warfare might mean in future conflicts between nations. The report compiled on this subject was presented in due course to the Council and came, as a matter of ordinary routine, before the Fifth Assembly. The report notes, first, that chemical warfare is effective in circumstances in which other arms would have produced little effect. Professor Angeli, of Florence, for example, writes:—

"Though the experience of the recent war has shown that no fortifications or armour can resist the force of modern explosives, the men themselves could at least find safe shelter from them in trenches, caves or dugouts sunk deep underground. But poisonous gases can go everywhere, both in the open and into the dugouts."

That, however, was only a beginning. "It is possible," says the Commission, "to conceive of other methods in the future, such as the dropping from aircraft of bombs or other containers filled with noxious

products, which would strike at civilian populations as surely as combatants." "It is doubtful," writes Professor André Mayer, "whether the peoples of the world are aware of the power of this weapon and the danger which threatens them." Professor W. B. Cannon goes still further when he states that "we have seen in the great war nothing approaching the probabilities of destruction of manufacturing centres and civil populations that would be likely in case another great conflict should occur." There followed in the Commission's Report a discussion of the precise effects on the human body of the various gases used or likely to be used in modern warfare. They are divided roughly into three categories, irritant agents, suffocating or asphyxiating agents and toxic agents. Into these it is unnecessary to go in detail. The following observations, however, on the effects of asphyxiating agents are significant: So-called suffocating or asphyxiating bodies cause fatal damage to the lungs. Thus chlorine, bromacetone, chloropicrine, carbonic oxychloride and acrolein, when inhaled, cause hæmorrhage into the air cavities of the lungs. Pulmonary œdema causes death in the same manner as drowning, death being attended by very painful spasms. Of all the gases in this category, carbon oxychloride, also known as phosgene, has been the one most effectively employed.

Other agents directly affect the blood, *e.g.*, carbon monoxide, which usually causes death by syncope and, contrary to general belief, without pain. The absence of pain, coupled with the unconsciousness of the existence of any lesion, aggravates the dangers, as it is difficult to make the victims realize their serious condition and keep them from making any exertion which would add to the burden of an already overworked heart.

Considerable progress has, of course, been made in measures of protection against most or all gases so far employed, but this takes the form almost wholly of gas masks supplied in adequate numbers to troops thoroughly drilled in their use. It would be out of the question to protect a civil population in

this way, and the Committee fears that even the means of protection so far efficacious may at any moment prove insufficient. It summarizes its report with the observation that the chemical arm, as employed during the last war with increasing intensity and undeniable efficacy, produces the most varied physiological effects. "There are no conceivable limits to its power, its efficacy, and its variety, any more than there are limits to pharmacology or any other branch of chemistry." But although its very serious effects on unprotected men may be mitigated by adequate protective measures, the problem of the protection of the civil population remains to be solved.

There is indeed a sufficiently arresting paragraph to which attention must be drawn in that section of the report which deals with the possible use of the chemical arm against civilians. "It must be admitted," says the Commission, "that technically there does not appear to be any reason why a poison gas attack from the air or by long-range guns used in modern warfare, either on land or sea, might not be very effectively carried out against a great city. There is every reason to believe that in a future war, aircraft would be much more numerous than in the last, and they would be able to carry much heavier weights. However reprehensible such an action might be, there would be nothing technically to prevent them dropping large bombs filled with some heavy poison gas over localities essential to the political or economic life of an enemy country. The gas to be employed would not necessarily be one which only disables human beings for a time, since the object would be to hamper or destroy some continuous activity aimed at by the attack. Mustard gas, for instance, dropped in large quantities would be likely to hang about the cities and slowly penetrate the houses. It is much to be hoped that some means of protecting the civil population from such an attack may be found. But it is right to point out that the problem is a difficult one. To furnish a whole population with gas masks

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## What Germany Loses

By VERNON BARTLETT

In this fourth article from the London Representative of the Information Section of the League, American readers will obtain a hint of what their own country as well as Germany may lose from its failure to make its voice heard in the councils of the nations. The editors consider themselves fortunate in obtaining articles from a journalist as familiar as is Mr. Bartlett with all the affairs of Europe and of the League.

It is, we are told, good for us to know what other people think of us. Therefore, supporters of the League probably profit by examining extracts from the German press. In most cases those extracts are not polite and, even if they are polite, they are not very enthusiastic. The writers complain that, whenever any question interesting Germany is discussed, the Council reaches a decision which is not the decision the Germans would desire. The papers of the extreme Right, in fact, condemn the League as a tool in the hands of the Allies, as a weapon to be used on every possible occasion against Germany. They complain about Upper Silesia, the Saar, Danzig and a host of other problems with which the League has had to deal from time to time.

There is, of course, a great deal of truth in what the Germans say. The most powerful nations in the League are, in fact, the Principal Allied Powers of the war. The Council's decisions inevitably resemble to some extent the decisions that would be taken by the Conference of Ambassadors or by the old Supreme Council. It is true that the influence of the neutral Powers and those ex-enemy States which are Members of the League is very

much greater than most people realize and is one of the causes of the "Geneva atmosphere" which so impresses visitors to the League's headquarters, but there are many cases when decisions have not been impartial and have indeed been unjust towards Germany.

There have been, for example, numerous disputes between the inhabitants of the Saar and the Saar Governing Commission. Time after time the five members of this Governing Commission are accused of acting in the interests of France rather than in the interests of the Saar population. The Versailles Treaty lays down conditions for the government of the Saar which could not possibly be carried out without causing serious discontent and hardship, but, quite apart from this, the Governing Commission is accused of all sorts of petty tyrannies and injustices. The Saar population is after all German, and Germany in consequence attacks the League whenever any report of mismanagement in the Saar, true or not, is published. Again, when Mr. Norman Davis and his two colleagues drew up the Convention which finally decided the fate of Memel, everybody in Geneva was highly delighted. The dispute between Lithuania and the Powers

represented on the Conference of Ambassadors had dragged on for months, and it was no small achievement to prepare a document which both parties could accept in the space of a week or two. The Convention, however, aroused great excitement in Germany, since Memel had until the war been a part of Germany, and German interests had not been consulted. Again, in the frequent disputes between Poland and the Free City of Danzig, the Danzig Senate is represented, but, even then, the Germans feel that purely German interests are not sufficiently protected. One could note down a score of cases on which the Germans have based their complaints that the League is an organization in the hands of her former enemies.

But there is one point upon which the Germans make a great mistake. They blame the League instead of blaming themselves. Has anybody ever heard of any sort of association which would set out to defend the interests of people who refused to cooperate with it? Germany desires to eat her cake and have it. How can she expect the League to help her if she does not take the trouble to apply for membership? She cannot have the League's assis-

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## Warfare by Poison—Continued from page 5

would seem almost impracticable, and methods for collective protection have yet to be proved efficient; yet, short of that, and especially in the absence of any knowledge as to where the attack was to be delivered, no complete protection could be secured. Moreover, heavy poison gases linger, even in the open country, for quite a long time. In a city it is difficult to say how long they might remain, and during

all that time the danger would continue."

The Commission discusses the possibility of such development of warfare being regarded as too horrible for use and of the conscience of mankind revolting against it. It recognizes, however, that no reliance can be placed on those contingencies. A nation with its back against the wall will reject no weapon that comes ready to its

hand. But something at least may be attempted in the direction of studying the human conscience in time of peace in the hope, if not entirely in the faith, that such overwhelming mass of feeling in every country would be mobilized against the use of poison gas that even a nation in extremis would hesitate to fling itself athwart the considered opinion of the world.



# Advertising for Anti-Court Speaker

By NORMAN LOMBARD

More convincing than resolutions for the World Court is the advertisement which appeared in the Mill Valley (California) *Record* of January 24th. A meeting was scheduled to discuss the World Court and whether the United States should enter. The committee desired to be fair. They wanted arguments pro and con.

They had no dearth of speakers ready to take up the argument in favor of the institution which America has done more than any other nation to create. But they struck a snag when they tried to find an opponent. Ministers, bankers, lawyers, teachers were tried, but to no avail. Nobody had anything to offer against America's entering the World Court.

Finally, all other means failing, it was decided to insert the following advertisement:

## A SPEAKER WANTED

A Bonafide Argument Against the World Court Requested.

WANTED — A two-fisted speaker to talk for 10 minutes against American participation in the World Court on the Harding-Hughes terms.

This is the S. O. S. of the local committee which is arranging for a World Court mass meeting to be held Sunday night, Feb. 8.

Friends of the Court are eager and willing to speak, but thus far the committee has been hard put to it to find a Devil's advocate. \* \* \*

If you're a dyed-in-the-wool irreconcilable; if you'd ask nothing better than to knock the World Court into a cocked hat—here's your opportunity. \* \* \*

Mill Valley, nestling at the foot of Mount Tamalpais, across the Golden Gate from San Francisco, home city of the isolated Isolationist, Senator Hiram Johnson, is the place of residence of several thousand cultured, thoughtful, educated people.

Among these, not one was found to make an argument against the World Court.

Now, of course, majorities are not always right. Mere numbers of adherents do not make a cause right and just. But it is significant that among the little minority on this greatest moral issue since slavery, no one would raise his voice to speak for his point of view on this question.

The people are thundering, *ENTER THE WORLD COURT* and they will not be denied.

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**The League of Nations will rise to its great task of pacification of the world as soon as all states have become members and the cooperation of progressive men in all countries has been assured.**

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PROF. ALBERT EINSTEIN.

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## What Germany Loses—Continued from page 6

tance as long as she holds aloof in order to criticize its decisions. What Berlin has still to learn is that it is unfair to expect human beings to forget all their passions, all their ambitions, all their national aspirations, when they come to Geneva as delegates. It is, as a matter of fact, a good thing that these national aspirations are not forgotten; otherwise we should too frequently have instances when delegates pledged their countries to actions which the people at home would not carry out.

There is, I have suggested, a good deal of ground for complaints that the League does not always reach the most impartial international decision. It cannot be expected to do so while it is a one-sided affair. With the best will in the world, delegates in Geneva frequently do not even know what the German point of view is and, even if they

did know, they could hardly be expected always to defend Germany's interests when Germany herself does not care to take the responsibility of defending them. If any nation dislikes decisions that are taken in Geneva, the remedy is very simple. The conditions of admission to the League of Nations are not at all difficult. Germany has but to become a Member of the League and she will immediately have a seat on the Council. As a member of the Council she will have just as much influence as France. Great Britain or Italy, and she will have no reason then to complain that the Council fails to decide every question dealing with Germany as Germany would like it to be decided.

And, lest any one should accuse me of being an anti-German, I would hasten to point out that this

article is decidedly pro-German. Every supporter of the League wants, or should want, Germany to be a contented State in a contented Europe, since otherwise there can be no lasting peace. The fact that the League exists has meant that time after time Germany has been better treated than she would be were there no international organization working for ultimate world peace instead of for temporary nationalist advantages. But you cannot expect other people always to fight your battles and to fight them as well as you would yourself. If you become a member of a club, you must accept the same responsibilities as the other members accept. If you do not choose to apply for membership and to accept those responsibilities, you have no right to grumble if the club does, or decides, something you do not like.



## Why We Should Join the League

The following argument, prepared for The Handbook on Liberalism, is so good that we reprint it not only for the use of speakers, but for our general readers as well.

1. The United States has not been able to form any other association of nations.

2. The United States has found it both necessary and desirable to participate in the activities of the League.

3. Fifty-five nations—all except the United States, Germany, Russia, Mexico and a few very minor ones—are members of the League. Each of them is as jealous of its independence, traditions and influence as the United States. They accepted the Covenant without reservations. Amendments to the Covenant can be made; four are now in force.

4. The United States, by separate treaties with Germany, Austria and Hungary, has claimed all rights and advantages under the treaties of peace, but has exercised its option only as to those portions which are still in debate. The Covenant of the League, while forming Part I of those treaties, functions separately from them, and is the only portion of them that has enjoyed an increasing prestige. The United States excepted that part from its engagement.

5. The fundamental engagements of the Covenant are those of peace. The United States is now participating or independently working for the realization of all of these. President Harding said that "we believe in respecting the rights of nations, in the value of conference and consultation." Entrance into the League means regular and automatic participation in the consultations and conferences of the League.

6. The League is the only instrument in the world working for limitation of armament. The effort of the United States to effect this has resulted in treaties of limited scope only. American failure to participate in the work of the League has prevented it from accomplishing what it could if the largest and strongest nation in the organized world were a party to its efforts. Despite this difficulty the Protocol for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes was approved by the Fifth Assembly at Geneva, October 2, 1924, the object of which in the words of its authors is:

"To facilitate the reduction and

limitation of armaments provided for in Article 8 of the Covenant of the League of Nations by guaranteeing the security of States through the development of methods for the pacific settlement of all international disputes and the effective condemnation of aggressive war."

For the first time in an international treaty aggressive war has been branded as a crime.

7. As a matter of cold, calculating, business, the United States should enter the League if only for the promise it offers of rehabilitating Europe and restoring its markets to the world. The prostration of our farming industry is plainly due to the poverty and confusion of Europe and its inability to purchase the food and clothing which it needs.

8. By joining the League we would not surrender in the least our national liberty, independence or sovereignty, and we would be amply compensated for our obligations under the Covenant by the promise of enduring peace and the fruits of international co-operation secured through participation in all League activities.

## Lantern Slides of the League and Court:

We wish to draw the attention of our many new subscribers to this series which has been prepared for this association by Jonathan A. Rawson, Jr., and which gives a clear and composite picture of the aims and methods of League and Court.

There are sixty lantern slides displaying:

89 views representing League and Court activities.

37 portraits of Americans associated with the League.

7 maps.

With correlated manuscript which will be sent in advance of slides and which includes:

Titles for speakers who have their own addresses.

Complete text to be read to the audience or drawn upon in preparing the speaker's own address.

These slides proved so popular for showing in churches, clubs,

schools, community centres, and so forth, that organizations desiring to use them are urged to secure reservation of the slides from Mr. Rawson before making announcements of their showing.

The rental cost is \$5.00, slides to be returned parcel post, prepaid, immediately after day of use.

Arrangements for rental can be made with Jonathan A. Rawson, Jr., 18 East 37th Street, New York City.

**NOTICE:**—If your HERALD is not addressed in the way to insure its most prompt delivery, please send us necessary corrections.



# Interfaith Declaration on World Peace

A SEVEN-POINT statement on the bases of world order was issued on October 7 over the signatures of 146 Protestant, Roman Catholic, Orthodox and Jewish leaders. It was released jointly by the Federal Council, the Social Action Department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference and the Synagogue Council of America. Three preambles interpreting the significance of the statement were issued along with it.

Heading the lists of signers from the three faiths were Rt. Rev. Henry St. George Tucker, President of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America; Rabbi Israel Goldstein, President of the Synagogue Council of America and Most Reverend Edward Mooney, Chairman of the Administrative Board of the National Catholic Welfare Conference. In the Protestant list were high officers of twenty-three national denominational bodies and twenty-nine presidents or chairmen of national church agencies or church-related organizations. The other signers were also of outstanding eminence.

## PROTESTANT PREAMBLE

"In a world troubled to despair by recurring war the Protestant churches have been seeking to show how moral and religious convictions should guide the relations of nations. Their conclusions are in many important respects similar to those of men of other faiths. In this we rejoice, for world order cannot be achieved without the coöperation of all men of good will. We appeal to our constituency to give heed to the foregoing proposals enunciated by Protestants, Catholics and Jews, which must find expression in national policies. Beyond these proposals we hold that the ultimate foundations of peace require spiritual regeneration as emphasized in the Christian Gospel."

## THE DECLARATION

1. The organization of a just peace depends upon practical recognition of the fact that not only individuals but nations, states and international society are subject to the sovereignty of God and to the moral law which comes from God.
2. The dignity of the human person as the image of God must be set forth in all its essential implications in an international declaration of rights and be vindicated by the positive action of national governments and international organization. States as well as individuals must repudiate racial, religious or other discrimination in violation of those rights.
3. The rights of all peoples large and small subject to the good of the organized world community must be safeguarded within the framework of collective security. The progress of undeveloped colonial or oppressed peoples toward political responsibility must

be the object of international concern.

4. National governments and international organization must respect and guarantee the rights of ethnic, religious and cultural minorities to economic livelihood, to equal opportunity for educational and cultural development, and to political equality.
5. An enduring peace requires the organization of international institutions which will develop a body of international law; guarantee the faithful fulfilment of international obligations, and revise them when necessary; assure collective security by drastic limitation and continuing control of armaments, compulsory arbitration and adjudication of controversies, and the use when necessary of adequate sanctions to enforce the law.
6. International economic collaboration to assist all states to provide an adequate standard of living for their citizens must replace the present economic monopoly and exploitation of natural resources by privileged groups and states.
7. Since the harmony and well-being of the world community are intimately bound up with the internal equilibrium and social order of the individual states, steps must be taken to provide for the security of the family, the collaboration of all groups and classes in the interest of the common good, a standard of living adequate for self-development and family life, decent conditions of work, and participation by labor in decisions affecting its welfare.

## Among the signers were:

Rt. Rev. Henry St. George Tucker, New York City, President, Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America and Presiding Bishop, Protestant Episcopal Church  
 Bishop William Y. Bell, Cordele, Ga., President, Board of Evangelism, Colored Methodist Episcopal Church  
 Rev. Ferdinand Q. Blanchard, Cleveland, Ohio, Moderator, General Council of the Congregational Christian Churches  
 Rev. P. O. Bersell, Minneapolis, Minn., President, Lutheran Augustana Synod and National Lutheran Council  
 Bishop A. R. Clippinger, Dayton, Ohio, President, Board of Administration of the Church of the United Brethren in Christ  
 Rev. Henry Sloane Coffin, New York City, Moderator, General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.  
 Rev. Robert Cummins, Boston, Mass., General Superintendent, Universalist Church  
 Rev. Frederick May Eliot, Boston, Mass., President, American Unitarian Association  
 Rt. Rev. S. H. Gapp, Bethlehem, Pa., President, Provincial Elders' Conference of the Moravian Church  
 Rev. L. W. Goebel, Chicago, President, General Synod of the Evangelical and Reformed Church  
 Rev. C. E. Lemmon, Columbia, Mo., President, International Convention of the Disciples of Christ  
 Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, Boston, Mass., Secretary, Council of Bishops of the Methodist Church  
 Rev. W. W. Peters, McPherson, Kan., Moderator, General Conference of the Church of the Brethren  
 Rev. Jacob Prins, Grand Rapids, Mich., President, General Synod of the Reformed Church in America  
 Rev. Donald W. Richardson, Richmond, Va., Moderator, General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S.



Rev. Joseph C. Robbins, Wollaston, Mass., President, Northern Baptist Convention  
 Rev. Albert N. Rogers, Yonkers, N. Y., President, General Conference of the Seventh Day Baptist Churches  
 Bishop John S. Stamm, Harrisburg, Pa., President, Board of Bishops of the Evangelical Church  
 Allen U. Tomlinson, Whittier, Calif., Presiding Clerk of the Five Years' Meeting of the Society of Friends  
 Bishop P. A. Wallace, Brooklyn, N. Y., Senior Bishop, African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church  
 Bishop James C. Baker, Los Angeles, Calif., Chairman, International Missionary Council  
 Frank S. Bayley, Seattle, Wash., President, National Council of Young Men's Christian Associations  
 Rev. G. Pitt Beers, New York City, Chairman, Christian Commission for Camp and Defense Communities  
 Mrs. J. D. Bragg, St. Louis, Mo., President, Women's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Board of Missions  
 Dr. Arlo A. Brown, Madison, N. J., Chairman, International Council of Religious Education  
 Rev. Rex S. Clements, Bryn Mawr, Pa., President, Board of Christian Education, Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A.  
 Rev. Charles E. Diehl, Memphis, Tenn., Chairman, National Commission on Church Related Colleges  
 Dr. John Foster Dulles, New York City, Chairman, Federal Council's Commission to Study the Bases of a Just and Durable Peace  
 Rev. Robert M. Hopkins, Indianapolis, Ind., President, United Christian Missionary Society  
 Mrs. Henry A. Ingraham, Brooklyn, N. Y., President, National Board of the Young Women's Christian Associations  
 Dr. Rufus M. Jones, Haverford, Pa., Chairman, American Friends Service Committee  
 John T. Manson, New Haven, Conn., President, American Bible Society  
 Bishop Francis J. McConnell, New York City, Chairman, Christian Conference on War and Peace  
 Rev. William P. Merrill, New York City, President, The Church Peace Union  
 Bishop Arthur J. Moore, Atlanta, Ga., President, Board of Missions of the Methodist Church  
 Dr. John R. Mott, New York City, Honorary Chairman, International Missionary Council  
 Rt. Rev. G. Ashton Oldham, Albany, N. Y., President, American Council, World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches  
 Commissioner Edward J. Parker, New York City, National Commander of the Salvation Army  
 Mrs. Norman Vincent Peale, New York City, President, Home Missions Council of North America  
 Rev. Daniel A. Poling, Philadelphia, President, International Society of Christian Endeavor  
 Rev. Charles P. Proudfit, Chicago, President, Council of Church Boards of Education  
 Dr. Leland Rex Robinson, Bronxville, N. Y., President, American Committee for Christian Refugees  
 Rev. Russell H. Stafford, Boston, Mass., President, American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions  
 Charles P. Taft, II, Cincinnati, Ohio, Chairman, Friends of the World Council of Churches  
 Rev. Henry P. Van Dusen, New York City, President, American Association of Theological Schools  
 Rev. A. Livingston Warnshuis, Bronxville, N. Y., Chairman, Foreign Missions Conference of North America  
 Rev. Luther A. Weigle, New Haven, Conn., Chairman, World's Sunday School Association  
 Miss Amy Ogden Welcher, Hartford, Conn., President, United Council of Church Women  
 Rev. Herbert L. Willett, Wilmette, Ill., President, Association for the Promotion of Christian Unity  
 Most Rev. Theophilus Pashkovsky, San Francisco, Calif., Metropolitan of the Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic Church of America  
 Most Rev. Antony Bashir, Brooklyn, N. Y., Metropolitan of the Syrian Antiochian Orthodox Church  
 Right Rev. Bohdan, New York City, Bishop of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of America

A leaflet containing the text, the three preambles, and the complete list of signers, including the Roman Catholics and Jews, may be obtained from the Federal Council of Churches, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y.

## The Universal Week of Prayer

The Universal Week of Prayer is a world fellowship. It is observed annually during the first full week of January. The week for the 1944 observance is January 2-9. The author of the topics is Rev. J. Harry Cotton, President of McCormick Theological Seminary, Chicago. He has produced a most remarkable series.

The General Theme for the week is, "The Power of God." The daily topics are:

Sunday	Power in Evil Hands
Monday	Evil's Hour in God's Eternity
Tuesday	The Self-Restraint of God
Wednesday	The Gospel as Power
Thursday	God's Strong Use of Human Weakness
Friday	Strength for the Day
Sunday	The Final Triumph

In countries other than the United States this prayer program is sponsored by the World's Evangelical Alliance, with headquarters in London. In the United States, the week is sponsored by the Federal Council through its Department of Evangelism.

Simultaneous and united prayer helps to bind Christians of all lands more closely together in this time of suffering and tragedy. At this time the churches may well pray for themselves that they may keep the torch of faith burning brightly, and pray for others who stand in need of God's help and blessing. Wherever possible, the Universal Week of Prayer should be observed unitedly by all the churches of the community under the guidance of the ministerial association or the council of churches. The churches in some communities observe the Week of Prayer by holding cottage prayer services.

In Tarentum, Pa., for the past three years, this plan of cottage prayer meetings has been followed. The first year there were 96 services with an attendance of 2,183; the second year the attendance was 2,346 in 116 meetings; and last year there were 2,323 present in 124 services. Perhaps in these days of tire and gasoline rationing, many ministers may wish to follow such a prayer meeting plan in the homes.

The Week of Prayer booklet is printed and ready for distribution. It is advisable to order a sufficient quantity so that each one present may have a copy. It may be secured from The Department of Evangelism, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y.

Price: 5c per single copy, postpaid; 40c per dozen; \$1.50 per 50; \$2.50 per 100.

## Committee on Town and Country

The Executive Committees of both the Home Missions Council and the Federal Council of Churches recently approved a plan which establishes the Committee on Town and Country as officially a joint agency of both Councils. The Committee was begun in 1912 by the Home Missions Council. In 1931, the Federal Council recognized the Committee as "its channel of operation in



this field." Since 1931, Benson Y. Landis of the Federal Council staff has served as part-time secretary.

Under the new plan the Federal Council assigns Dr. Landis for half his time as executive secretary of the Committee on Town and Country. He continues as associate secretary of the Department of Research and Ed-

ucation. The Committee on Town and Country expects to hold regularly a Convocation on the Town and Country Church, and to establish a new journal, *Town and Country Church*. Rev. Clifford L. Samuelson of the National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church, is chairman of the Committee on Town and Country.

## The Christian Mission on World Order

THE Christian Mission on World Order is now being carried out in about 100 cities across the country. There has been an enthusiastic reception of this plan on the part of local communities and a distinguished group of leaders and speakers are taking part in the Mission.

There are at least three purposes which it is hoped will be accomplished:

(1) To emphasize the bearing of the Christian gospel on the problem of world order.

(2) To show how the faith of the Christian can be translated into his acts as a citizen.

(3) To stimulate every church and community to inaugurate an effective program of study and action on the issues involved in a Christian world order.

One important emphasis of the mission has to do with the recovery of vital faith. If the American people are to promote a just and durable peace they need to recapture a righteous and creative faith. Peace is not a static situation. Peace is dynamic and requires steady movement in directions that promote the general welfare. Unless we have the spirit for that we will not contribute to durable peace; rather, we will be an obstacle. During the nineteenth century our people had great vision and courage. They built a constantly developing society, the benefits of which all people shared, directly or indirectly. Our present need is to develop a like vision, enthusiasm and courage regarding the building of a world community.

Plans are being made for community action following the visit of the missions, and the Commission on the Bases of a Just and Durable Peace is planning to encourage the organization of committees in other cities which were not visited in connection with the Mission. Suggestions which are being made for the follow-up of the Mission include the following:

*Utilize opportunities for individual and group action in behalf of world order*

- (a) Encouragement to congressmen and senators by letters, telegrams, or personal interviews
- (b) Articles in local newspapers
- (c) Broadcasts over local radio stations
- (d) Information to Chamber of Commerce, Rotary Club, Women's Civic League, and other local organizations
- (e) Work in neighboring communities, organizing and teaching classes
- (f) Financial support to accredited agencies

- (g) Personal participation as a government official
- (h) Exemplification of peace in community life—interdenominational, racial, civic, personal
- (i) Information to friends and associates in social and business contacts
- (j) Communication with service men and women

*Organize a community committee on world order*

- (a) To secure up-to-date information from the Commission and other agencies coöperating in the Mission
- (b) To report to the Commission local matters, such as findings, activities, problems
- (c) To stimulate study and action in churches and community
- (d) To secure speakers for local meetings and study groups
- (e) To further study and action in neighboring communities
- (f) To encourage individual action along the lines suggested above
- (g) To utilize in the community the work done in local churches as a part of general denominational programs
- (h) To devise various means to keep people in the armed services informed and interested; for example, to draft and send to them letters of information about the work of the church toward world order, or to bring together parents of service men and women for study and discussion and information to those in service.

It is expected that discussion in the one-day sessions to be held in connection with the Mission will center around the Statement of Guiding Principles, the Six Pillars of Peace and the Declaration of the Three Religious Faiths.

The Mission is being carried out by six of the churches' agencies—the Federal Council, the Foreign Missions Conference, the Home Missions Council, the International Council of Religious Education, the Missionary Education Movement, and the United Council of Church Women. The coöperating staff in charge of the Mission representing these agencies, includes Mark Dawber, Gilbert LeSourd, Quinter Miller, Leslie B. Moss, Emory Ross, Herman Sweet, and Mrs. Ruth Worrell. Walter W. Van Kirk is serving as Director of the Mission, and Paul G. Macy as Associate Director.



# How Churches Meet Wartime Needs

## MINISTERS LEAD MANY WAR SERVICE BOARDS

**M**R. MAYNARD CASSADY of the National Organization Section of the Office of Civilian Defense has written to the Editor:

"Reports have come to us from communities in the Middle West indicating that in quite a number of instances the chairmen or executives of the war service boards in defense councils were Protestant ministers. This seems to indicate both a growing concern among ministers for the kind of community organization which is emerging in the midst of the war effort and also an opportunity for church leaders to exert their influence upon the newer trends in community life. . . .

The block and neighborhood organizations of local defense councils have conducted over 100 different types of programs, many of which are surveys. In New York State, for example, 47 counties conducted child-care surveys in February, 1943, and 40 conducted surveys of nursing service. In the latter instance, they discovered the names of 2,200 inactive registered nurses and 1100 practical nurses who had not registered for service. Other counties conducted surveys on housing, on foster-homes, on recreational facilities. . . .

"These neighborhood and block organizations are growing in effectiveness and church leaders may continue to avail themselves of results of their efforts as well as participate in their planning. In some places, as you know, religious leaders have encouraged their members to volunteer in block organizations. But it is the rural areas, especially, in which the aid of the church can be most effective. For in many of these areas the neighborhood organization of the defense council has provided them for the first time with an effective form of community organization. It should be emphasized that block organizations are truly community organizations."

Pamphlets on "The Neighborhood in Action," "Civilian War Services," "Recreation in Wartime," and "Health Services in Wartime" may be obtained by ministers and church federation executives by writing to Maynard Cassady, Office of Civilian Defense, Washington, D. C.

## MAYOR APPRECIATES CHURCHES' SERVICES

*Under date of September 1, 1943, the Mayor of Los Angeles addressed the following letter to Dr. E. C. Farnham, Executive Secretary of the Los Angeles Church Federation:*

"Dear Dr. Farnham:

"I have recently learned of the outstanding success achieved by the Protestant churches of Los Angeles in providing supervision and instruction for children during the summer months, as a partial answer to the pressing problem of child care in this community. It has been

reported to me that over four hundred churches opened their doors to these activities under the supervision of no less than ten thousand volunteers, and that over 103,000 children were regularly enrolled, of whom 87 percent, on the average, were present each day.

"This is one of the most outstanding achievements of our Los Angeles citizenry in aiding in the war effort, both from the point of view of enlisting volunteer services, as well as providing care for children, many of whose parents are at work in the war industries. I am informed that nearly a half of the mothers of children thus cared for are employed in defense work.

"I wish to express my appreciation, as Chairman of the Defense Council of our city, and as Mayor, for this noteworthy achievement, and the hope that so fine an accomplishment may not be permitted to terminate, but that a continued service of this kind may be offered by our churches on Saturdays and after school hours. Such continued day care, supplementary to that afforded by the schools and other agencies, will be an important contribution to the war effort by the people of Los Angeles.

"Yours very truly,

(Signed) FLETCHER BOWRON  
Mayor."

## FIELD WORKERS

A field staff of nine are available for short periods of service on invitation from interchurch groups for work in camp and war industrial communities which are desirous of marshaling their own resources to meet their problems more effectively. Five of these are field workers for the Christian Commission for Camp and Defense Communities; four are made available by the Board of Missions, Women's Division of the Methodist Church and are placed for interdenominational service by recommendation of the Commission. One of the workers is a Negro minister in whose support the Race Relations Department of the Federal Council participates. The present assignments of these workers are as follows:

Miss Elizabeth Johnson, Paterson, New Jersey; Miss Katherine Alt, Newark, Ohio; Miss Helen Smiley, New Britain area, Connecticut. Among the field staff of the Board of Missions, Women's Division of the Methodist Church are: Miss Mabel Wagner, Seattle, Wash.; Miss Lena York, Detroit, Mich.; Miss Eleanor Neff, Richmond, Va.; Mrs. Charles Wade, Calvert, Texas; Rev. Irving K. Merchant, the Negro minister at Little Rock, Ark.

## CHURCH HOSPITALITY CENTER IN PROVIDENCE

Dr. Roy Schramm, Executive Secretary of the Church Hospitality Center, Providence, R. I., under the auspices of the Rhode Island Council of Churches, reports as follows:

"The distinctive feature of our Center is its homelike atmosphere. We make no attempt to provide religious services, entertainment, serve food or have lodging facilities at the Center, but we do provide service guests with the opportunity of association with church people in their



homes, at their churches, and in social contacts.

"At the Center we provide reading matter, music via radio and victrola, darning and mending, pressing of uniforms, shaving facilities, comfortable chairs for relaxation, contacts with friendly people, and various other services without charge. Some 275 women have given invaluable service.

"Cases involving personal and ethical problems are often referred to us by the Red Cross, the USO and the Travelers' Aid. Here is a young woman who after a three months' acquaintance with a sailor friend receives a marriage proposal and comes to inquire how she might know that what her friend tells her about himself is true. Or a sailor, tense with concern, announces that his wife is in the hospital facing an operation, while in a matter of hours his battalion is due to embark for overseas.

"Ten marriages have been arranged, in each case a local clergyman officiating.

"It has been estimated that between 3,000 and 4,000 service men come to Providence each weekend."

#### 600 IN HOUSING PROJECT SUNDAY SCHOOLS

In a statement which covers the period from April to August in a field of service which includes some 100,000 men, women and children in dormitories, housing units, and trailer camps, Rev. Harold H. Henderson, Director of the United Church Ministry in Richmond, Calif., points out that housing authorities find it impossible to allow any one denomination to hold religious services in community buildings because of the lack of facilities; but the authorities are glad to regard the Church Council as representing all denominations.

In April, when Mr. Henderson first came, there were already three Sunday schools in three of the community buildings. To these have been added four more, two in two new centers and two for colored children. Now there are upwards of six hundred children in the seven Sunday schools and an average of two hundred and fifty in the seven preaching services.

For the summer months a Vacation Church School was arranged for a period of ten weeks with a total enrollment in the five schools of 400. House-to-house calling by pastors and especially by the women parish workers has proven most helpful in bringing people out to service and in getting the children out to Sunday school.

#### INDUSTRIAL CHAPLAINS

There is wide interest in industrial chaplains who minister among workers within a factory or ship yard. The Christian Commission for Camp and Defense Communities recommends that in all places where an industrial chaplain is proposed a committee be organized that will represent all the parties interested, including management, labor and the Church, and that the financing represent these interests. The first industrial chaplaincy on this basis, as reported in the columns of the BULLETIN last month, has been established by the Quincy, Mass., Council of Churches. It has been suggested that the

Government be asked to build chapels in isolated housing units and trailer areas which are definitely known to be temporary. The Commission voted, however, that in the case of temporary housing projects the Government be urged to continue to provide an adequate housing facility for religious purposes without erecting a building for religious purposes exclusively.

### New Publications

1. As the tide of war begins to sweep back across Europe the possibilities of widening areas of service in the field of foreign relief challenge the churches and create a first priority on the Christian conscience. New literature prepared by the Church Committee on Overseas Relief and Reconstruction and designed to make Christians increasingly aware of this responsibility includes:

Poster, 12x16, featuring "Tina," an appealing little refugee girl. A reproduction of this poster appeared on the cover of last month's FEDERAL COUNCIL BULLETIN.

A new *Humanity Hungers* leaflet. Tells the story—with a distinctly Christian and church-centered emphasis—of the need and how it is met through the nine recommended agencies.

*Training Ground for World Order*, a pamphlet particularly useful for groups interested in post-war planning and in the "preparation of those sound attitudes which will determine the enduring quality of the peace." \$1.00 per hundred.

The fall issue of *For Those Who Suffer* features "The Tradition of Brotherly Love." The early Church Fathers throw light on the Christian character of the present task. Adaptable for program use.

Sample copies of any of the above on request.

2. *Worship and Health* is the title of a new pamphlet written by Rev. Howard Chandler Robbins and just published by the Commission on Religion and Health and the Commission on Worship. The pamphlet discusses the fundamental ways in which worship is related to health of body mind and spirit.

3. *Topics for the Universal Week of Prayer*, January 2-9, 1944. By J. Harry Cotton. On the theme "The Power of God." Published by the Federal Council's Department of Evangelism. Five cents a single copy, postpaid; 40 cents a dozen; \$1.50 for 50; \$2.50 for 100.

4. *A Bulwark Never Failing to Americans on the Move*. 20-page picture pamphlet, with brief text, describing work which churches are doing in camp and war industrial communities. Contains 32 pictures and center spread two-color map. Published by the Christian Commission for Camp and Defense Communities. Fifteen cents per single copy; discount on quantity orders. All the above-mentioned publications may be ordered from the Federal Council of Churches, 297 Fourth Ave., New York 10, N. Y.



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| 3. Fairest Lord Jesus                | 20. O Master Let Me Walk with Thee    |
| 4. Faith of our Fathers              | 21. Rock of Ages                      |
| 5. Holy, Holy, Holy                  | 22. Silent Night                      |
| 6. How Firm a Foundation             | 23. Sun of My Soul                    |
| 7. Lead, Kindly Light                | 24. All Hail The Power of Jesus' Name |
| 8. My Faith Looks Up to Thee         | 25. Crown Him with Many Crowns        |
| 9. O Love That Wilt Not Let Me Go    | 26. Now the Day is Over               |
| 10. When I Survey the Wondrous Cross | 27. O Little Town of Bethlehem        |
| 11. America the Beautiful            | 28. O Come, All Ye Faithful           |
| 12. Come, Thou Almighty King         | 29. Onward, Christian Soldiers        |
| 13. Dear Lord and Father of Mankind  | 30. The Old Rugged Cross              |
| 14. He Leadeth Me                    | 31. A Child of the King               |
| 15. I Love to Tell the Story         | 32. A Mighty Fortress is Our God      |
| 16. I Need Thee Every Hour           | 33. Battle Hymn of the Republic       |
| 17. Jesus Lover of My Soul           |                                       |

## Changing Emphases in American Preaching

by ERNEST TRICE THOMPSON

*Professor of Church History and Church Polity, Union Theological Seminary, Richmond, Virginia. Price \$2.00.*

A brilliant work on some of the "changing emphases in American preaching which have particular significance for the present day;" written by a consideration "of the life and labors, and especially the theological or ecclesiastical significance, of five men who to an unusual degree reflect, or have helped to determine, important trends in the American pulpit." The five men: Horace Busnell (The Beginnings of American Liberalism). Henry Ward Beecher (The Popular Revolt Against Calvinism). Dwight L. Moody (The High Tide of Revivalism). Washington Gladden (The Development of the "New Theology"). Walter Rauschenbusch (The Challenge of the Social Gospel).

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6. You have the privilege of returning for full credit, within 10 days, any books that you receive from the Club.
7. Forms are provided, with each month's Bulletin, which you may use to indicate that you want no book at all sent to you, or that you wish another book instead of or in addition to the principal selection.

### Remember

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# WORLD ORDER MOVEMENT

*Presbyterian Church in the United States of America*

## *Executive Committee*

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DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL EDUCATION AND ACTION  
CAMERON P. HALL, DIRECTOR

830 WITHERSPOON BUILDING  
PHILADELPHIA 7, PA.

Hotel Bellevue  
San Francisco, California  
May 12, 1945

Dear Colleague:

I traveled across the continent from New York to San Francisco in the "Mora-Press Special" of the State Department. The first part of the hyphenated name puzzled many of us, but we finally learned that the "mo" stood for "movies" and the "ra" for "radio". It all made sense when one came to know who were one's passengers, for they were reporters, photographers, and broadcasters from places as far separated as Athens and Chungking.

Since arriving in San Francisco on April 23, I have had the opportunities to observe the United Nations Conference that are open to the Press because I am listed with the State Department under SOCIAL PROGRESS as an accredited press representative. Of special help and worth is the almost daily fellowship with 20 or more other representatives of the churches. Now, in the third week of the Conference, seems to be a good time to take stock.

On the credit side of the account these points stand out in my thinking:

1. The United Nations Conference has actually met in a time of war. This evidence on so vast a scale of the determination to prepare for peace while war is still on is unique in history.

2. The small nations are now having their chance to discuss the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals. Up to now this has been reserved for the Big Four--China, the United Kingdom, Soviet Russia, and the United States.

3. The spirit of the Conference has been splendid throughout. It is earnest in its feeling about the consequences of failure. It has been affirmative in offering cooperation. The will to produce a Charter upon which all will agree was apparent from the start.

4. The unanimity reached by the Big Four has been reassuring. They have worked together on a wide range of issues with positive results.

5. There has been a willingness to face up to real issues, take divergent positions, yet reach a solution in the democratic way. A case in point is the stand taken by Soviet Russia on the question of the admittance of Argentina.

6. Such changes as have been made in the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals as noted below have been all to the good, some of them notably so.



# WORLD ORDER MOVEMENT

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7. The delegates have resisted pressures to be led off into the solution of many current problems, such as the Polish question, and have adamantly stayed by the task of working out a Charter for an international organization.

8. The openness of the Conference to the public through every channel of public information has been as apparent as it has been commendable.

9. The concept of the United Nations Organization is superior to that of the League of Nations. The effort being made is to devise ways by which the nations will join in dealing with the causes and threats of aggression before it becomes actual. Many delegates are keenly alive to the economic as well as the political aspects of international relations.

Not until the Conference is over can one measure the debit side. But among the factors that tend to create difficulties and limitations are the following:

1. While not belonging on the agenda of the Conference the failure of the governments involved to solve the Polish question has a debilitating effect on the atmosphere of cooperation in which the Conference works.

2. The fact that the Conference is in session while its member states are waging war tends to highlight military security at the expense of other means for national security.

3. The excessive dominance of the Big Four, inherent in the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals, is unimpaired at the Conference.

4. The insistence by the United States upon annexation, in fact if not in word, of certain islands taken from the Japanese has far-flung implications of a most serious nature.

5. Certain vital needs for an effective Charter have either been inadequately met by the amendments jointly sponsored by the Big Four, or as of this date, seem destined to be ignored.

6. There is too much assertion of nationalism with its attendant militarism and imperialism. No one nation can now be either specially blamed or praised.

There has been one question that perhaps above all others has been with me. What influence, if any, are the churches exerting at the San Francisco Conference? I find other church leaders here in agreement with an answer that has been taking shape in my mind, namely, that the people of the churches, directly and through their representatives, are exerting an influence, both effective and in keeping with the American tradition of the separation of church and state--an influence exercised on the level of citizenship rather than of official position. This influence is being channeled in such ways as these:

1. The State Department and the United States delegation are receiving an average of 8,000 letters a day bearing upon the Conference. That a significant part of these come from people in the churches has become apparent.

2. Through its own merit and its presentation by church leaders, the Cleveland Church Conference Message has received close study in the State Department. A



church leader who came out in a train carrying many State Department officials found among them a wide familiarity with, and a high respect for, that Message.

3. Serving as members and advisers to the American delegation are persons known for their Christian leadership. Notable among these are Commander Harold E. Stassen, a member of the delegation, and President of the International Council of Religious Education, and John Foster Dulles, a member of our Committee on Social Education and Action, and until his appointment as an official adviser to the United States delegation, Chairman of the Commission on a Just and Durable Peace of the Federal Council of Churches.

4. There are a number of church leaders among the Observers, a group representative of many kinds of organizations, including a number of denominations and other church bodies. The State Department provides programs and speakers for the meetings of this group which are informative for those present, and serve also as a sounding board for the expression of a broad section of public opinion.

5. The consultants of the Federal Council of Churches are of special importance. Forty-two national organizations were asked by the State Department to appoint three representatives each. These meet with the Secretary of State and others of the United States delegation.

Not only are they thus authoritatively informed of the fast moving situation, but in turn they may express their views on matters before the Conference. The Consultants of the Federal Council have sought every opportunity to suggest to the United States delegation an approach to such questions as human rights in keeping with the Cleveland Conference Message.

I have been greatly concerned, of course, with the development of the Charter as measured by the Cleveland Church Conference Message. The thinking and program of the Christian Church as set down in the Delaware Conference Message, the Six Pillars of Peace, the Cleveland Conference Message, and the pronouncements of General Assembly have been invaluable assets to all of us these past days, guiding us through the maze of the Conference. And as I have caught a glimpse of the pressure upon the delegates--pressure inherent in the sheer complexity of the situation and coming from groups whose premises are ultimately pagan--it has been clear beyond doubt that everything which we as Presbyterians did last year through our World Order Movement was desperately needed. The need was for us to have done more--much more.

As I write, the Conference is in midstream, and any appraisal of it must be tentative. It is now wrestling with two broad sets of documents: One, the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals as modified in a way I shall note shortly; the other, the more than 700 pages of amendments to these Proposals as submitted by the various delegations. What is done to the Proposals by the Technical Committees, then the Commissions, and finally, the Conference as a whole in the light of these amendments will determine the final product. About this nothing as yet is certain.

Since the United Nations Conference opened, however, the Big Four have agreed upon modifications of their original Proposals. The fact that these changes are unanimously sponsored by these Powers gives them the same force as the Proposals themselves. What follows, therefore, is an appraisal of the extent to which these changes, and others to be noted, carry through to the objectives set by the Cleveland Church Conference Message.



1. The nearly 500 leaders in Cleveland called for a Preamble that would affirm the essential principles in the Atlantic Charter. No Preamble was included in the Big Four amendments--perhaps because they knew a draft was to be offered by Field Marshall Smuts of South Africa, who is looked upon as the dean of the delegates and held in high respect and confidence. His draft of a Preamble has been accepted in substance by the Technical Committee to which it was referred in the first instance, and it is most likely that it will be placed at the head of the Charter that is adopted.

2. The Cleveland Church Conference Message calls for the "operation of the Organization under law" and for the "development and codification of international law". Significantly enough, the first step toward this was due to the Chinese--whose own proposals for changes were accepted by the other three Powers--as announced by the Secretary of State at his press conference held two days before the Conference opened.

3. Further amendments offered by the Big Four enlarge the place in the Charter given to international law. There are seven places where this theme is treated in these amendments, three of which are worth noting: (a) "Justice and international law" is affirmed in the chapter on Purposes, as the principle by which the Organization is to seek its objectives; (b) The General Assembly is specifically charged with the responsibility to encourage "the development of international law"; (c) The General Assembly is empowered to use its good offices regarding "any situation, regardless of origin" which it feels is a threat to "friendly relations among the nations." This is of special interest, for it represents the outcome of the "Vandenberg amendment," which was aimed at keeping open for revision treaties made in these recent years. In the discussion among the Big Four, it was stressed that to single out treaties for change would be unwise since international relations must depend upon the integrity of treaties; but our delegation urged the equal necessity for treaties to be open to change in a changing world. The outcome will be found in the words "any situation, regardless of origin".

4. It is in respect to human rights that there has been the greatest spelling out of what has been hoped for by the leaders of the churches. If it is not all there--as it is not--there is more than at any time seemed possible to be hoped for. There are five elements in what has been added by amendments: (a) "Respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, language, religion or sex" is a far more explicit statement than anything that was in the Charter previously. It is made the purpose of the entire Organization and not just of the Economic and Social Council. (b) It is explicit in the purpose of the General Assembly. (c) It is elaborated and made more specific in the Economic and Social Council. (d) Power is given to the last agency to "make recommendations for promoting human rights and fundamental freedoms". (e) This same agency is directed to set up a commission on human rights. (Confer the Cleveland Church Conference Message: "A special Commission on Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms should be established".)

5. A more open door for changes in the charter was sought by the Cleveland Church Conference. The Big Four amendments provide for a constitutional convention at some time to be specified by the General Assembly, when the entire charter will come up for review and revision.



Other changes noted in the Cleveland Church Message have not been brought up in any prominent way as yet, the exception to this being the question of dependent peoples. This has been one of the two great issues before the Big Five (France being in on this discussion) in the past week, and it is still far from a solution. It was included in the thought of the Cleveland Church Conference and is of paramount interest to the people of the churches because of the world-wide mission and outreach of the Church. In general, the line-up at this time of writing is this:

1. The United States delegation has presented a document which has been the basis of the argument, for and against. Two things in this paper are of special importance: (a) The distinction is made between strategic and non-strategic bases and areas. The former are to be, if under any kind of international organization, under the Security Council, and international supervision, if any, is to be merely nominal. Back of this United States plan is the intention to keep open for possession by this country, the islands which she will have wrested from the Japanese in this war, as a part of this country's defenses leading right up to the coast of China. The British oppose having this duality of areas. (b) The introduction of the concept of "Trusteeship", with the setting up of a Trusteeship Commission. This concept is far superior to that of the mandate system which was adopted after the last war. There is a difference of opinion between the British and the United States as to what agency of the organization should have supervision of this Commission.

2. The Russian delegation has made a stimulating suggestion: That instead of "self-government", which is now declared to be the goal for which the Trustee system should prepare dependent peoples, it should read "independence". This falls athwart the plans of quite a number of the nations concerned. (a) The United States, because it might undermine our hold on strategic areas; (b) the British, who look toward Dominion status when their colonies mature to the point of self-government; (c) France, because she looks toward the incorporation within her own political systems of her colonies, with the likelihood of the natives being given full French citizenship. The Netherlands hold somewhat the same view.

In the Trusteeship Commission, the members are to be one representative from each controlling Power, and one representative from an equal number of nations. But no representative of the people who are controlled! This perpetuates in this division the racial cleavage which is recognized as being highly inflammable. At least a beginning may be made in the meaning implicit in another Russian proposal, that the permanent members of the Security Council who represent powers without colonial possessions, as is the case with Russia, and China, be also members of the Trusteeship Commission. In this way the voice of the non-white people would be heard.

I want to emphasize again that this matter is at this time under discussion. It is recognized as hard of solution--but important. When this is read, an agreement will have been reached at least by the Big Five; but the foregoing will give some understanding of what lay behind the agreement, and suggest some of the factors with which to measure what is finally approved.

In closing, I am thinking of two statements made by two church leaders here: The first, Mr. John Foster Dulles, who said that whereas the Dumbarton Oaks



May 12, 1945

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Proposals constituted only a body, or a mechanism, now as a result of some of the Big Four sponsored amendments, "it (the Charter) is a body with a soul. The Charter has a spirit, a sense of mission". Great words are in it: "Justice" and "human rights and fundamental freedoms" and "international law" and "trusteeship" and "equal rights and self-determination of all peoples". The second statement is that of a friend who said to me that the implications of such great spiritual and ethical statements as these in the Charter are of such vast significance, he wondered if the American people--and particularly the Senate--would accept them if they understood these implications in their entirety!

Surely all peoples in the churches the world over should rise in support of these great affirmations for the very reason that they are so far reaching in their implications and will benefit human relationships the world around. But the task is far greater than that of simply giving them approval. It will be the high task of the people of the churches of America, joined with others of goodwill, to make these great affirmations, a clarion call to high endeavor, come alive among the nations because they will have become incarnate within the domestic practice and the foreign policy of the United States.

These are times for us to respond to the call of the hymn, "Rise Up, O Men of God!"--and to keep standing in His Service for Peace.

Cordially and warmly yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Cameron P. Hall". The signature is fluid and elegant, with a large initial 'C'.

Cameron P. Hall

CPH/H



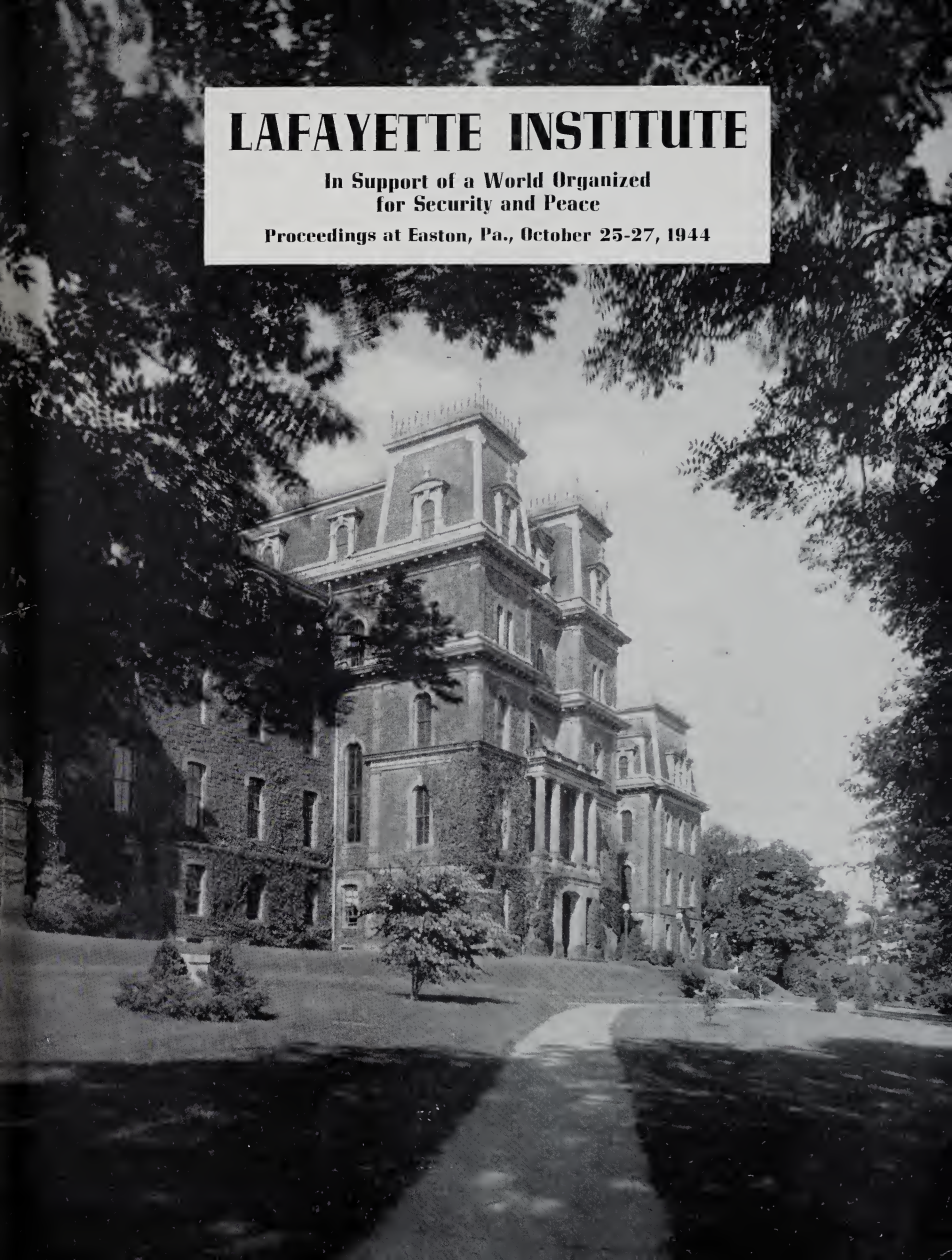




# LAFAYETTE INSTITUTE

**In Support of a World Organized  
for Security and Peace**

**Proceedings at Easton, Pa., October 25-27, 1944**





# LAFAYETTE INSTITUTE

**L**AFAYETTE INSTITUTE in support of a world organized for security and peace, was held October 25 to 27, 1944, on the Lafayette College campus at Easton, Pa., under the auspices of Lafayette College with the cooperation of 12 other local sponsoring organizations and 12 sponsoring organizations of national scope, names of which are listed on this page. The Institute has thrown needed light on many of the problems which will confront the United States and many other countries in the postwar era during which must be developed a world of security and peace.

Drawing a large attendance at its many sessions, Lafayette Institute served as a forum for postwar needs as viewed by authoritative speakers representing the best leadership of varied fields of endeavor in the United States, as well as by representatives of some foreign nations.

For the information of those who could not attend and to provide a convenient record of the proceedings International Business Machines Corporation gives herein the addresses heard at Lafayette Institute, most of which are full texts. The opinions expressed in each address are those of the speaker and not necessarily those of International Business Machines Corporation.

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# Significance of Institute

**DR. WILLIAM MATHER LEWIS,**

*President, Lafayette College*

*At First Session, Colton Memorial Chapel, Oct. 25.*

**T**HIS Institute, which has so many implications, is not a Lafayette College project alone but truly a community project, one in which we have had the very fine cooperation of the City of Easton. Our Mayor—Mayor Morrison—who has given us so much help had to be out of the city today, but we are very happy that he delegated one of the city officials to represent him and to bring the greetings of the city.

We are opening this Institute under auspicious circumstances, and it is an occasion of more than ordinary significance. Perhaps those here will be interested to know that the Office of War Information is having records made of most of the speeches of our various programs and that those records will be the basis of short-wave broadcasts to our soldiers in the different theatres of war. We like to think that this Institute is reaching out to more than 2400 Lafayette Alumni scattered over the face of the earth fighting for freedom, and to hundreds of thousands of other boys who will hear some of this program.

This Institute, I think, is a significant one in that it indicates that our colleges are going to broaden the base of their educational processes. One thing which we have learned from the war is the fact that we must carry the educational facilities of our institutions more and more into our communities. If the college is going to serve its purpose as an effective national institution, it must not confine its efforts to those who are its students at any time. We are proud of the fact that in the colleges and universities of America, over 400,000 members of our Armed Forces have been trained within the period of less than two years, and so it comes about that we may truthfully say that in all the branches of our military service, America, today, has the finest, the most intelligent group of fighters that the world has ever seen. Thus, this Institute indicates that we are reaching out because it is an educational institute in every sense of the word. It is very essential that in the face of a national election we should have an institute of this kind to consider together, and with the greatest freedom, some of the problems that are facing this country and the world. It is also fitting that just at this moment in the war we should gather together.

While we have a distinguished group of speakers—we are told the most distinguished group that has attended any institute of its kind in this country—still, it is not from the speakers alone, or perhaps mainly, that the chief benefits of this Institute are to be derived; it is from the exchange of ideas of all those who now have the opportunity of participating.

I suppose American political life was at its zenith at the time of the old New England Town Meeting, when people gathered for the discussion of the community and the national problems. We are hoping that this Institute may, in a way, be the rebirth of the town meeting idea in this community.

We know that Sweden, which is far ahead of the rest of the world in many of its social ideas, which has kept out of armed conflict more successfully than most other nations,



**DR. WILLIAM MATHER LEWIS**

has accomplished that because the population of that country attends meetings each week. I had the privilege of being in Sweden and coming personally in touch with that great system where each week the people of all communities, one sixth of the entire population, on the same night would discuss the same subject. There is a great deal to be thought about in that matter.

These institutes, of which this is the first I believe to be held upon a college campus, have been of great influence in arousing the people of America to their national and international responsibilities; and the man who is most responsible for this, who recognized the necessity among people in a democracy of intelligently making up their minds, is Dr. Henry A. Atkinson. It has been my privilege to work with him here and to be associated with him in the Institute at Miami, Fla., last winter and last spring; and seeing him here and having worked with him, I know his devotion to this great cause which we are to study in the three days of this week.

It is very fitting that the keynote address of our Institute, "Why an Institute of This Kind at This Time," should be presented by this man, the General Secretary of the Church Peace Union and World Alliance for International Friendship through the churches, and member of the Executive Committee of the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace, I present to you, Dr. Henry A. Atkinson of New York.



# Why an Institute of This Kind At This Time?

**DR. HENRY A. ATKINSON**

*General Secretary, The Church Peace Union,  
At First Session, Colton Memorial Chapel, Oct. 25.*

**T**HIS will be the 32d Institute of this kind that has been held in little over two years. During that time, we have held institutes in every part of the country; from Boston to Miami; on the Pacific Coast; in the Northwest; in the South. The interesting fact further is that in every place that we have gone we have left a permanent institution. Sometimes it has been called the United Nations Association; sometimes it has been called the Community Organization for the Study of Peace and War; and in other places it has been an organization directly interested in the political implications of the peace. We have left it to the local groups to undertake the kind of organization that best fits their community and will best promote the war effort. We have gone under the title, in our general work, "Win the War; Win the Peace." These are the two important things that we have before us at the present time.

Months ago when we agreed upon this Institute, we were of the impression that the war was going pretty well, and that probably we would be faced here with the fact that the war was pretty near over. However, I do not believe two of us, who are perhaps optimists by nature—I am sure that I would be willing to have that impeachment brought against me, and I think Dr. Lewis falls into the same category; for at least we both lean to an optimistic view of life—I hardly think that either one of us realized that the war would go as far and become as complicated and that there would be such great changes and such great victories as have happened.

We hoped then that the war would be over very soon, and we believed there were indications that pointed in that direction. It has gone faster than we even dared to hope at that time. But the war isn't over yet. Therefore, one of the reasons for holding this Institute is that we may sit down and calmly talk over together the responsibilities that still rest upon us.

We are going to have a long way to go, even if we are only some 300 odd miles from Berlin on three sides; we are going to have a long way to go before we have reached the heart of the Philippine Islands, and have bottled up Japan so that we can give adequate help to China while she finishes the war there on her own soil. There is going to be demanded of us a lot of hard work, a lot of patience, and we must not grow weary in this task. Therefore, we need to come together and discuss the situation so that we will know why it is going to be necessary in this war that we shall persevere on to the end, that we shall go through until the war will be so completely won this time that the German people, or no part of the German people will have the opportunity of saying, "After all, we were tricked into a peace."

In the last war most persons knew that the Germans couldn't fight any longer. Even while the plans for peace were being discussed and while the terms of the Armistice were being arranged, there began to be complaints outside of Germany that the Allied Powers were trying to strangle the Germans, that we were starving women and children,



**DR. HENRY A. ATKINSON**

that we were destroying the basis of life in Germany.

When Clemenceau said we must go through, we must take the Rhine, we must occupy the left bank of the Rhine and dictate the terms of peace in Berlin itself, the world said, "No, no, we can't do that; we can't strike a foe when he is down!" Yet, after the peace was signed, the ink was not dry on the paper before the German people began to say that they were tricked into the peace. They complained they could have gone on and won a victory if they had not believed that "liar" Wilson who they said had deceived them and had induced them to lay down their arms under a promise that was never fulfilled.

Germany is the only nation in the world through 150 years that has had reason to feel that war was sometimes possibly profitable. They have not known before what defeat really means. In all that time, only once, have they really had a defeat on their own soil, and that wasn't a very great defeat. Therefore, we have got to stand. It is not easy; it is hard, but nothing is easy in this war. We read of the cruelty and the destruction, the amount of pressure and the lies that have been poured out. When we think of our boys all over the world fighting under hideous conditions, when we think of that, we can't bear to think that we are going to win a war of this kind—one that has proved to be so different from every other war—and then lay the foundation of the subsequent peace so weakly, that we fail to make the peace



# Address of Welcome

**MR. GEORGE F. COFFIN, JR.**

*City Solicitor, Easton, Pa.*

*At First Session, Colton Memorial Chapel, Oct. 25.*



**MR. GEO. F. COFFIN**

**I**N BEHALF of Mayor Morrison of the City of Easton, the City welcomes the opening of the Lafayette Institute.

The wealth of timely subjects that have been scheduled for discussion, together with the outstanding quality of the speakers who have been secured through the efforts of those in the Institute, make me urge every citizen of this community to participate, if not in all of the sessions, at least in those for which he has time.

The City of Easton trusts that this Institute meets with the success that it deserves and urges full participation by all citizens.

secure, with the result that babies in their cradles today will be out on the firing line 25 years from now. To prevent that is our task.

The other thing that neither Dr. Lewis nor I nor anybody else could realize—and we couldn't have believed it if we had said three months ago when we began to work here—that we were going to be able to put before you a concrete plan for the organization of the world and a method of securing the world against war, feeble though it may be in outline. If we had said that, how we would have trembled for fear we would have been found false prophets. Neither one of us would have dared to say that.

On the table there you will find some very good reading material, some very good and valuable things, and we hope you will take them away with you. You will find the official document of the State Department of the Dumbarton Oaks proposal; and you will find it also in a pamphlet form, put out by the Woodrow Wilson Foundation; you will also find a statement there of the Roman Catholic, Jewish and Protestant declarations on world peace. It is called "The Pattern for Peace." It was signed just a year ago, and its distribution was begun about that time. Nearly one million copies have been printed and distributed. It is signed by fifty of the highest officials of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States; fifty of the chief members of the Rabbinate and leaders in the Jewish life of America; and some fifty Protestants, besides four or five of the representatives in this country of the Greek Orthodox and the Eastern Orthodox Churches.

Now of the Declaration: there are seven points in this program—seven things that all of these 150 leaders of the total church life, religious life of our country, agreed upon. The fifth one of those reads as follows: "An international institution to maintain peace with justice must be organized." And then as an explanation—"an enduring peace requires the organization of international institutions, which will develop a body of international law, guarantee the faithful fulfillment of international obligations, and revise them when necessary. Assure collective security by drafting limitations and continuing control of armament; com-

pulsory arbitration and the adjudication of controversy, and the use, when necessary, of adequate sanction to enforce the law."

Now, we who were partially responsible for bringing out this Declaration and circulating it, believe that the Dumbarton Oaks Plan largely fulfills the requirements that are laid down there. It is not a complete plan. It has not all been worked out, there are many things left, but at least we have a beginning.

A friend of mine in California used to tell the story about his little four-year old boy, who was very much as every small boy would be. He was told that he had a little brother. He wanted to see him, so he went in and took one look at him and he turned to father and said, "Father, I don't think we ought to keep him, he ain't got no teeth."

Well, now, you can take this plan and you will find many, many things that are wrong about it but it is the best thing, probably, we are going to get at this time. I would rather have a start here with an organization that provides for a parliament, that provides a basis of security, that provides a secretariat, that leaves wide open spaces there for the perfection of an instrument to prevent war. I would rather have that than for us to have to go out and continue to talk about wanting a world organization of some kind.

Let me say again before I go on that the main purpose, it seems to me, of an Institute of this kind is for us to register our belief that this is a step in the right direction and that we want to perfect it; but we want the perfection to come through the exercise of the responsibilities that are laid upon us, and upon this organization, and not by an attempt to make it perfect all at once. The first great danger is that we are going to seek too perfect an organization. The trouble with the League of Nations was that it was too perfect for imperfect representatives of imperfect nations to operate. There were too many promises. If it had begun with a little and then worked out and gone further, it would have been able to "pay the bills" when they came due. The perfectionists are often the obstructionists. While we want to go toward perfection, let us not wait until we

*(Continued on page 40)*



# The United Nations in a Postwar World

MR. CLARK M. EICHELBERGER,

*Director, League of Nations Association,  
At First Session, Colton Memorial Chapel, Oct. 25.*

I WAS here a few years ago, and I think we made certain predictions at that time that have, unfortunately, come true. We then talked about the forces that were mobilizing for a great catastrophe; and that great catastrophe has occurred.

The subject this afternoon, The United Nations in the Postwar World, is one that I like very much. It is particularly fitting that we speak on this subject now because the Charter for the United Nations in the Postwar World has pretty well been given to us in the agreements that were announced in Washington a little over a week ago.

I appreciate the background that Dr. Atkinson gave for certain specific points that I want to make today. He and I campaigned all over this country together on these various institutes, and I believe that he has had a very important influence throughout the country. Because, through institutes such as you have here, he has been able to bring together, not masses of people, but the leadership of each community—the businessmen, the labor, and the educational factors of the community, along with the students. I have seen some very excellent results and I hope that as a consequence of this discussion, we will see in motion in this community as Dr. Lewis suggested, a whole series of town meetings, based upon how to “Win the Peace,” and the responsibilities and obligations which the United States must assume.

I agree with Dr. Atkinson that our greatest enemy today—rather let me say our enemies—come from two extremes, the cynics, the isolationists—the people who do not believe that it is possible to build a world community with American membership to prevent World War III; while along with them you have the perfectionists, the people who are not willing that we go to Heaven unless we will take their road. And it is very noticeable, very discouraging, that since the Dumbarton Oaks proposals have been announced there has been more shooting from the perfectionists than from the isolationists.

I have my own particular theories of what a world organization should be like. I think that I could write a constitution of a world organization that would have some improvements over the Dumbarton Oaks agreements; and I don't doubt a bit that the political science professors in the audience could do better than I could, and that Dr. Atkinson could do better than any of us. The fact of the matter is that for years the statesmen have been studying how they could create a charter of a United Nations Organization. They met for some seven weeks in Washington, the representatives of the Big Four, and thrashed out an agreement. It contained compromises, it contained certain gaps that I shall refer to this afternoon but I think it is a workable agreement that the nations have been able to agree upon and it is that which we must make work in the future.

Now, I think in the first place, that the statesmen are far ahead of where they were in the comparable period in the last war in building institutions of permanent peace. You will remember that the Wilsonian fourteen points came rather late in the war. Then, after an Armistice was signed, there was an old-fashioned peace conference in Paris, and while they were writing the Treaty of Versailles, a committee was drafting the Covenant of the League of Nations. When I



MR. CLARK M. EICHELBERGER

think of what a quick job the drafting of the League Covenant was, and when I think how much of the League Covenant was taken over by the United Nations' Charter, I am filled with admiration for the drafting job that the statesmen did at Paris. Nevertheless, at the time the League of Nations' Covenant was drafted and submitted to the United States we had retreated into “normalcy”. We had a great reaction in this country; and other nations, not being able to wait for the peace settlement, confronted the world with certain unilateral settlements, certain *fait accompli*, and so it was difficult to get the world organization going.

The leaders made a brave effort to make a success of the League of Nations. I will always believe that had the United States joined, had the weight of the United States been thrown back of the League of Nations, a second world war would have been avoided.

Well, consider how far ahead we are today. The Atlantic Charter came before the United States entered the war, at a time when it was becoming clear that it was only a matter of time until Japan or Germany would attack us. With the Atlantic Charter the basic principles of the world organization of the future were agreed upon before the United States entered the war. Shortly afterwards, there came the declaration of the United Nations, and then there came a whole series of declarations—Teheran, Cairo, and then the Moscow declaration itself—in which the four great powers pledged a general international organization, based upon the sovereign equality of all peace-loving states; and in addition to all these documents and principles that have been proclaimed,



there has been a whole series of United Nations' conferences.

We said that the League of Nations was built at one time and that the League had only a few autonomous agencies, including the International Labor Office and the Institute for Intellectual Cooperation; and we might consider the World Court an autonomous organization. But this time we are building the world organization room by room.

Over a year ago a conference was held at Hot Springs to work out the plans for an organization on food and agriculture. Dr. Boudreau, whose name I see on the printed program, will appear as one of those who attended the conference at Hot Springs and helped draft the organization for food and agriculture.

The United Nations were later invited to another conference to set up the UNRRA Organization. Then a conference was held at Breton Woods a few months ago to agree upon a currency stabilization fund and an international bank, and, in another few days from now, the United Nations and their associates will meet at Chicago in a conference to work out rules for the control of civil aviation.

One might say that the United Nations had been building the house of the United Nations room by room but that there came a time when they had to put the roof over it, for which they first had to construct a general framework. They met at Dumbarton Oaks a few months ago and there they created the general framework of the world organization. Dumbarton Oaks gave us the general proposals for a charter of an organization to be called "The United Nations," instead of "The League of Nations." While it is true that these are only proposals, while it is true that our State Department has made it clear that it wants free and open discussion on these proposals, improvements can be made before all of the United Nations meet, the 44 United Nations and their associates, in January (I believe Mr. Stettinius predicted they would meet); and while it is true there can be this endless debate between now and then—even as it took the four great powers some seven weeks to iron out the basic principles—I do not think the small states are going to make very many fundamental changes. I think the pattern of the United Nations Organization is generally set. There are a few places where it can be improved but I think it is for us now to conduct the widest public discussion, the greatest campaign of education possible, the strongest mobilization of public opinion, in support of the United States joining and assuming full obligations.

I would like to take up in closing a few of the questions that are asked about the Dumbarton Oaks proposals, or the Charter of the United Nations. One might say that the proposals and plans to meet the three great needs of community life are, first, security; second, the peaceful settlement of disputes; third, broad range of economic and social policy to improve living conditions and remove the causes of war. Now, the Charter sets up a series of boards of control, and an assembly, a security council, an economic and social council, and a secretariat, and an international court of justice.

The statesmen meeting at Dumbarton Oaks were faced with this fundamental problem—on one side they had to create a democratic world organization; on the other side they had to concentrate power in the hands of the nations that would use the power for the maintenance of peace. I think we should very carefully examine how that dilemma was solved because on one side you will hear some critics say, "the trouble with the proposed United Nations Organization is that it will be too democratic"; and other critics will say, "the trouble is it is a four-power agreement with the concentration of power in the hands of the few great states." The most democratic organization, or organ of the United Nations will be the Assembly. Each nation, great and small, will have one vote in the Assembly. The Assembly will be the great

parliament of nations. It will meet once a year or as frequently as it wants to.

Now, what will the Assembly do? It will deal with the broad matters of political, economic and social policies, and any problem in the world that concerns the ability or inability of nations to live together: if in the economic, social and political fields, it is within the province of the Assembly. The Assembly determines the budget and collects the dues, and raises the money, and it is the history of parliamentary bodies that the control of the purse is one of the most effective means in curbing tyranny. The Assembly elects the non-permanent members of the Security Council; elects all of the members of the Economic and Social Council; appoints the secretarial staff, and has the job of coordinating all of these autonomous agencies that we have said were being set up which must be brought together under the big roof, so to speak.

It was the experience of those who went to Geneva frequently to watch the League of Nations that the League of Nations Assembly, over a period of time, made itself the paramount body of the League because it was a democratic body. And it was because men like Nansen of Norway, and Benes of Czechoslovakia—they were able men and could speak well—could occupy a position of importance all out of proportion to the military significance of their countries, that the Assembly gradually became the policy-making body of the League, although the Assembly was given surprisingly little authority in the League of Nations Covenant.

The new general Assembly of the United Nations is given much more authority in the Charter than in the League of Nations. It actually starts where the League of Nations' Assembly left off. I suppose in most men's minds, much more important than economic and political policy, is the prevention of war by the cracking down on an international gangster when he wants to disrupt the peace. Hence you and I may be more interested than anything else in what was done by the conference at Dumbarton Oaks to concentrate power for the prevention of war. They decided to create a Security Council—let me remind you that the League of Nations had but one Council which dealt with any subject under the sun—whereas, in the new organization there will be two Councils. The Security Council can deal only with the settlement of disputes and the prevention of war and a stopping of aggression.

Now this Council is to be composed of eleven seats. Five of them will be occupied by the five great powers, the United States, Great Britain, Russia, China, and France; the other six will be rotated among the smaller powers. A power will hold a seat for two years and then it has to give it up to another small state which is elected to take its place.

The Security Council of the United Nations will have very great powers. It is provided in the Charter that the nations will agree to abstain from aggression and settle their disputes by peaceful means only; and they are offered a variety of means for the peaceful settlement for disputes. They are offered arbitration, mediation, conciliation, all of the normal ways by which nations may settle disagreements.

Should all means of settlement break down and the dispute is so serious it is likely to lead to a disturbance of international peace and security, then the Council may so decide, and if it decides in the affirmative, then it may take any measures that are necessary to prevent war from breaking out; if a war actually does break out, the Council can use whatever means are necessary to stop it. It is given more real authority than the old League of Nations' Council had.

I will give you an illustration. For months, the nations stood idly by, and saw Mussolini moving troops through the Suez Canal to his African Empire. Everybody knew he was moving troops to Eritrea and Somaliland to make war on



Ethiopia, but the Council of the League of Nations did nothing about it until the overt act of aggression had been committed, and then they tried to do something about it. But it was then too late.

Under the new provisions, the Council of the United Nations Organization when it sees a situation developing that would lead to a breach of the peace, might close the Suez Canal and do or order any action necessary to prevent a war by sending troops there. Now, the Council is given wide means at its command. It may, in the first place, quarantine the aggressor, or order all nations to break off any relations with the aggressor whatsoever, of an economic nature. Then it may go farther. It may use any military means that it wants to in order to stop the aggressor. Now, how are those military means provided? The agreement provides that the nations will set aside a certain percentage of their armed forces, as contingents to be used whenever the Council calls for these contingents.

The Russians and the Chinese wanted a real international air force. I was rather pleased about that, because the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace has been advocating for a long time, as well as the League of Nations, an association for an international air force. So we urged this international air force and developed public opinion for it, and then were surprised too that several of the governments of the Dumbarton Oaks Conference urged an international air force. The conference proposals didn't go quite as far, though they provided that in addition to a contingent, in order that there might be instantaneous action against the aggressor, that there would be an international air force set up—the nations reserving so many planes which the United Nations Council could use instantaneously as an air-police force to fly to the scene of danger and to drop leaflets to warn the aggressor; and, if that was thought necessary, to bomb his military installations.

The question arose as to how the Council would vote. Would the Council vote by unanimous vote which paralyzed the League, or would it take the vote by a majority. If it took a majority vote, that would mean that six out of eleven votes would determine the action, but the six out of the eleven might all be small states with no military power, and the five great powers, who did not want to take the action recommended would be outvoted by six that would not have to make much of a contribution to what was to be done.

Then the question came up: should they wait to vote? Should they decide that the Council should move by majority vote, providing that a majority included the five great powers, so it would really be five great powers, plus one small power that would constitute the majority of the Council? Then someone said, "If we decide it that way, suppose one of the great powers itself is a party to a dispute, or is accused of being an aggressor, should a great power have a vote when it was party to a dispute? Should the great powers be placed above the law and be able to exercise a veto when it came to considering their own disputes?"

It is generally believed that the United States and Great Britain would be willing to waive the right of a veto if they were accused of being a party to a dispute, whereas the Russians wanted the rule of unanimity of the great powers maintained. Now, I don't agree with the Russian position but I do have a great deal of sympathy for it. We have inherited a great deal of suspicion on our peace intentions that can only be dispelled by constant cooperation. The Russians have not forgotten that the League of Nations was not able to achieve unanimity to expel Italy or Japan from the League, but did achieve unanimity to expel Russia from the League when Russia became involved with Finland. The Russians have not forgotten that in 1938 they were willing that the League of Nations go to the aid of Czechoslovakia;

and that it was the appeaser Chamberlain and the appeaser Daladier who went to Munich and sold Czechoslovakia down the river in the infamous Munich Agreement. Consequently, the Russians have a certain suspicion and we have a great deal to do to allay that suspicion.

At Dumbarton Oaks, the whole question of how the Council shall vote, whether the vote shall be by simple majority and minority by including some of the great powers, whether a great power shall have a vote when it is a party to a dispute, was put over for the projected forthcoming conference of Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin. However, if those gentlemen don't meet, if they don't have such a conference, then the conference of the 44 United Nations and their associates, which Mr. Stettinius predicted, will be held some time in January.

Now, about some of the other provisions. Another council has been set up, an Economic and Social Council, and this Council has no distinction between great powers and small powers. It is a council to deal with economic and social matters and reports directly to the Assembly. It will help the Assembly suggest new agencies such as the International Bank and Food and Agriculture organizations that should be set up. I should point out that the Security Council is to be in continuous session, which is a great innovation. Instead of diplomats of the foreign ministries of the nations meeting four times a year and then taking their eyes off of situations in between times, it is provided that this Security Council has to look out for trouble so as to avoid and prevent disputes from arising by using military force if necessary to stop an aggressor.

The Council will be in session 365 days of the year and I presume we will have to send our very best men to that Council. The highest diplomatic post that our government would have to fill would be that of the ambassador representing the president and the State Department. When approved by the Senate, he is to be our permanent ambassador sitting on the Security Council of the United Nations organization.

My feeling is that the States should create an organization which is essentially democratic in the broad sphere of policymaking and in control of the funds of the Assembly; and it should be the Assembly that will elect the non-permanent members to the Security Council, and all of the members to the Economic and Social Council, because in the latter Council there is no distinction between permanent members and non-permanent members, great powers and small powers. At the same time, our statesmen have wisely concentrated power in the hands of the nations that must exercise power within the next few years to prevent aggression.

I agree with Dr. Atkinson that within the next few years, during the transition and reconstruction period, power will be so concentrated in the hands of Great Britain, Russia and the United States—probably China and France having some considerable power, also—that agreement among the first three, above everything else, is necessary, and that if we cannot have confidence among Russia, Great Britain and the United States, the world organization will not hold together successfully.

Now, as far as the United States is concerned what should be our policy?

Well, I think that within the next few weeks or months, while we are waiting for the full United Nations conference to meet, we should hold the widest discussion throughout this country so that every person would have some knowledge of what the proposed Charter of the world organization contains.

You will remember that when the League of Nations' covenant was before the Senate, Senator Lodge of Massa-



chusetts sent for Senator Watson of Indiana and told him he wanted him to be one of the leaders on the floor of the Senate against the League of Nations. Senator Watson said to Senator Lodge, "You cannot defeat the League of Nations, eighty per cent of the people want it." And then he went on to give statistics to show that the people wanted it. Senator Lodge smiled cynically. He didn't deny that eighty per cent of the people wanted the League of Nations; but he said: "My dear James, I am not going to make a frontal attack on the League of Nations, I shall kill it with reservations." And then he went on to show that because the people wanted the League of Nations but did not understand it he could finally frustrate and then destroy that public opinion by playing up to all sorts of prejudices.

There is an overwhelming public opinion that today we want the United Nations; and, if this time we succeed where we failed twenty years ago, it will be because this time the people not only want the United Nations but they understand the provisions of the Charter and will not permit the reactionaries on the one side or the perfectionists on the other from prejudicing them against the essential agreements in the Dumbarton Oaks proposal. That is why the most important process of American Democracy must function now. That is why people everywhere must debate the document and must understand it. And what are the most fundamental problems before the United States Senate? There are two: one is, "When will the organization be set up?" I don't think you will find anybody in this country that will object to some kind of a world organization. Public opinion is too strong; no politician would take a risk of saying "I am against a world organization." What will he do? In the first place, we have a handful of isolationists today who are saying it is all right to work out the plan, but it must not be set up until all the post-war settlements are made.

Instead of the United Nations coming after a protracted period of time in a peace conference, the United Nations should be set up before the war ends and there should be no peace conference at all. The peace settlement should be worked out piecemeal now and by the United Nations as such.

I hope that the United Nations organization will be set up by the United Nations and their associates with provisions for the entrance of the neutrals before the war in the West ends—before Germany surrenders. I would like to see this world organization set up almost overnight.

The second attack that's going to be made is from the senators who say it is all right to set up an organization but that the President must have no authority to do anything about it.

War moves very rapidly today. Against the blitzkrieg from Germany, nations in Europe lost in thirty-six hours the independence that they had enjoyed for hundreds of years. The aggressor moves quickly. He must be stopped overnight. We haven't time for the horse-and-buggy processes of the Nineteenth Century diplomacy.

No spot in the world today is more than sixty hours by flying time from any other spot in the world; and I was told in Chicago, the other day, that the heads of one of our great airlines predicted his company would soon have a plane so rapid that within a few months one could say that there is no spot in the world that is more than twenty-four hours of flying time from any other spot in the world. That means that we must move quickly against the aggressors.

It has been provided in the Dumbarton Oaks conference that the nations will earmark certain contingents, certain military forces and installations that could be used instantaneously when the Council requests them. Our position is that if Con-

gress approves the Dumbarton Oaks agreement, the President would have the authority to use these contingents without having to get the consent of Congress each time. The President has the responsibility to protect the interest of the United States anywhere in the world, but if he has to go to Congress each time an aggression breaks out and he wants to use the police force, if he has to go before Congress and have an endless debate of six months, by that time the aggressor will have accomplished his objective. As bad as that is, the nations knowing that Congress will not act quickly will not even have any faith in the organization and will work up a system of power politics and alliances to take the place of the security that you and I would like to see them have through the world organization. Therefore, the great debate of our time—it takes the place of Article ten debate of the 1918 peace conference—the great issue on which candidates are being asked to express themselves is this: Are you willing that the President have the authority to move instantaneously and that the American representative on the Council of the United Nations be able to pledge his country to move instantaneously, or are you going to say that there must be an endless congressional debate and filibuster each time we want to use police action to stop aggression?

I think all of us agree that police action must be instantaneous, that the President must have the authority to act quickly, that Congress must itself delegate that authority or recognize that the President has that authority. Don't you see how all the world is waiting for the American answer?

Sometimes you wonder what the British and the Russians are going to do. Will you sober yourselves with this thought? Judging by the record, by the fact that the United States is the only nation in the world worthy of the name that did not at some time or other belong to the League of Nations and the World Court, that by the record of the United States between our repudiation of the League of Nations' covenant and our passing of neutrality legislation, there is a lot more reason for the other nations to wonder what we are going to do than for us to wonder what they are going to do. They know that we have a minority control over American foreign policy because of the dual control of foreign policy and the necessity of a two-thirds vote of the Senate. Consequently, the most important factor in the whole Dumbarton Oaks debate is whether or not the Congress of the United States is willing to delegate authority for the use of police action to prevent aggression.

If the Dumbarton Oaks agreements were perfect and yet the United States could not join and act quickly, they would not work; but the Dumbarton Oaks agreements could be very imperfect and work if the United States delegates had the authority to pledge instantaneous action. Therefore, in conclusion, I want to plead for the widest discussion and the greatest mobilization of public opinion so that this time the United States will join the World Organization on a basis of equality and be able to pledge instantaneous police action. The whole future of our civilization depends on that decision.

This is our second choice. I do not believe that destiny will give us a third. I believe that public opinion today is overwhelming. I am optimistic because I believe that the Dumbarton Oaks agreements are good—ininitely better than the League of Nations covenant—and because I believe that this time there is an informed public opinion that will not permit the isolationists to disrupt or destroy them. It is for us to demonstrate within the next few months that informed public opinion really exists.



# Pan American Unity In the World Organization

DR. SAMUEL GUY INMAN,

*Professor, Lecturer and Adviser on Latin-American Affairs, at First Session, Colton Memorial Chapel, Oct. 25.*

**I**N ALL of this discussion for the last few years, we have heard a good deal about regional organizations, and there is always the question as to how much the general world organization can do and how much must be left to the regional organizations.

I have understood from those who have been intimately connected with the Dumbarton Oaks meetings, that one of the reasons why the United States had such strong influence with Great Britain and Russia and China, was the belief that the United States represents not only herself but represents the whole American continent. Certainly, we can have no world unity without unity on this continent. Speaking very frankly, I must say that that unity was in much greater evidence a year ago than it is at present. There are certain reasons for that. In the first place, as we come to the close of the war, everyone in our own land and everywhere else is rather squaring around looking at the postwar world to see what his nation can get out of it. Naturally, Latin America now is very, very scrutinous about what is going to happen in the postwar world. She is wondering what we are going to do after the war is over in regard to the stockpiles, for example, that we have been pressing her to develop. For, during the war we would not have been able to keep our factories running, to have the munitions for the boys at the front if we had not had the manganese, the rubber, the tin, and all of the other metals and raw products which Latin America has furnished us to the full. Not a thing that we have needed for the war effort that we haven't had in our 48 states has not been forthcoming from our twenty Latin American neighbors; everything we wanted, they have put in our hands. They realize that that has completely upset and reorganized their whole economic life.

The question is now, "After the war is over, you will no longer need these materials." Will you simply turn your back to us and give us no aid whatsoever in disposing of these stockpiles in adjusting our economic life? There is another question, of course, and that is the Argentine question. Argentina has, some way or other, gotten off the track. Having come gradually from a democratic process down to a very reactionary Nazi attitude, she is now under the control of a militaristic clique, a gang of quirks who, in the first place, haven't any particular program, yet somehow or other they have a very keen adviser behind their military clique. Argentina is now organized against the United States for the leadership of South America. I do not think we are helping ourselves, or Argentina, either one, by our trial of the case in the newspapers. I am afraid that these continual statements from the Department of State and even from the President about Argentina are not doing us any good. We are not interested in whether nations particularly are keeping their word. What nation does keep its word; what nation has ever kept its word. We are not as interested in that old question as we are in this question, "Where are we going on the American continent?" Can we keep the unity? We will have to be very careful about how we deal with the quirks in Argentina, lest by criticizing the



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government we will drive the best of the Argentines to support that very government.

I think we must lay down clearly our position. We are completely opposed to the fascist crowd, but, on the other hand, we must be studying and getting together with the rest of the Latin Americans to study this question of what we are going to do about this rapidly developing division on the American continent. It is an exceedingly serious situation which it seems to me demands at least a meeting of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the American Republics; in other words, that we may face not simply the Argentine question but many of these postwar problems. We must keep the unity of the American continent.

Now the war has shown us, as we never appreciated before, that there is one America. I don't even say North America, Central America, or South America, it is America. And what power America has since we have kept together during the war—Canada, the 48 states of the United States, Mexico throwing all of her tremendous resources into the war, and Central America. Why, they have found all kinds of new things in the ground, and above the ground, that they didn't know they had before, to contribute to the war effort. And Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, and Peru and that great, enormous, powerful nation, Brazil, what would we have done without Brazil in this war? Do you know that even before the attack on Pearl Harbor, it was Brazil that



said, "Yes, you can have this nice big hunk of coast down here." It is only 1600 or 1700 miles from North Africa. And she said, "You can take supplies to the Allies by the way of Brazil." And when President Roosevelt wanted to join Mr. Churchill in conference, it was by the way of Brazil and the little hop over 1700 miles to North Africa that he took for his conference. When the great invasion of North Africa was prepared, all of the material was brought down from the United States, through Brazil, over to Dakar, and on up to North Africa; and that is the way we have sent the material over to China, over into Russia and finally into Italy, and a large part of it into France.

Now that we have found the American continent is really one, certainly we will never go back on that. We must hold that very definitely and not let anything divide us on the American continent. We have 21 republics; and counting Canada, which I feel quite sure has come so close to the rest of us during the war that she will become a member of the Pan-American Union following the war, means 22 democratic peoples. The ideals of every one of these nations are democratic; they have the republican form of government, and practically everyone has copied our constitution, and that is a power for world unity.

We have the "good neighbor policy." Now, let no one say that we always had the good neighbor policy. I don't care what your politics are, don't get that idea. We have been bad neighbors with Mexico after we took half of her territory. Oh, I hear people saying, "Well, I think it is not the thing for us to do all the giving and they do all the taking." Yes, yes, with Mexico who has done the taking? Look at the map. Furthermore, I don't and don't you, think that the Latin Americans are going to agree that even during the war we have made enemies out of the Latin Americans by paying their labor so highly. No, no, nothing of that kind. The Latin Americans feel that they made tremendous sacrifices for the war; they know that at times they have completely disarranged their whole economy so as to give us the material, the particular materials, that we need for winning the war. They don't feel that we have given them a lot. They feel that they have contributed to the completion of the victory program, and they think that they ought to have a part in the New World Order.

Are we going to give a great country like Brazil, now with a much larger population than either France or Italy, and with a hope that is simply astounding, jumping way over to the extreme West, industrializing its land, at the present time, making its own airplanes and ships, a place in the new world organization? She believes she ought to have an important place in the new world organization. All of the Latin American countries are asking this same question, "Will the Good Neighbor Policy continue after the war?" Now, the Good Neighbor Policy has developed in the last ten years, in the most rapid way, to set up a real organization of the American nations, a League of American Nations, if you please, with the exception that it has no constitution, and the different organizations are flapping around somewhat in the air and are not brought together. But think of what we have done in ten years on the American continent to really show that international organization can do the job!

In 1933, we went to Montevideo for a conference. Mr. Hull, young in his international experience, said going down on the boat, "I don't know much about this affair, but I want to learn." Thus when Mr. Hull walked into the hearts of the delegates at Montevideo, they didn't know who this man was in the beginning, and they wondered what he was going to put over. They noticed he was so gentlemanly and that he shook hands as they did, and so on.

I think the greatest day of my life was about five days

before the conference adjourned. I walked into the Senate Chamber of the great Capitol of Uruguay with Mr. Hull and he said, "Inman, what are they saying around the corridors?" And I said, "Mr. Hull, they are saying they like you, but they are going to find out about you this afternoon." That afternoon we were to discuss the question of intervention in which 20 Latin-American countries were to announce their opposition to intervention by the United States. Bear in mind, that between 1900 and 1932 we had 40 armed interventions in Latin America when we sent our troops into those countries.

That debate was tremendous and when it came Mr. Hull's time to say what the United States would do, he was in a box. He had written out his speech and the newspapermen know you can't push him into saying anything else—but he couldn't read that speech after those 20 people had told what Latin American thought of our record.

Then he showed himself to be a great man. He put the speech back in his pocket, and he said, "Mr. President, the United States' delegate votes for the treaty, Article Six, which says no nation shall intervene in the internal or external functions of another nation."

That's the Good Neighbor Policy. That is the foundation of it all.

In Buenos Aires in 1936 we went further. We have always said the Monroe Doctrine was an unilateral doctrine. We wanted to make it continental so in 1936 the Monroe Doctrine was made continental and every nation on the American continent was asked to participate with us in the defense of the continent.

In 1938 what a struggle that was, the Nazi newspapermen sat right in the front seats, and the Japanese, and Italians were all around, trying to break the unity of the Pan-American Union. It was a tremendous struggle but after three weeks we came out with one of the greatest declarations in the history of international relations which stated that the Republics of this continent believe in democracy, in international law; believe in settling disputes by arbitration. We, therefore, promised that when this continent is threatened, the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of all of the Republics will meet together to see what they shall do to defend the continent. That was the beginning of the Pan-American machinery.

The next year the European war broke out. There was a meeting, three weeks after the European war started, in Panama of an organization there of two great commissions on juridical and economic affairs. Those have been meeting almost daily from 1919 and 1929 up to the present time.

Then, finally, when we were attacked at Pearl Harbor, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Chile sent a cable to the Pan-American Union, saying we must have a meeting immediately to see what shall be the united action of the continent concerning this situation. In Rio de Janeiro the greatest of all cooperation was developed, in spite of the fact that Argentina and Chile did not immediately break relations, although they did afterwards.

Every one of the countries on the American continent not only broke relations with the Axis, but agreed and carried out that agreement of giving us these raw materials which were necessary for the winning of the war. Now that is a tremendous demonstration of the power of international organization. It can be done. That is the message from the Pan-American organization. International organization is possible. Take, for example, one of its greatest accomplishments, the elimination of the petroleum question in Mexico. Now, I have been in Mexico twice this year, but for the first time in 30 years of visiting Mexico I didn't hear a word about the oil question.

It was settled by the two governments saying, "It is non-



sense for us to be wrangling over this petroleum question. Appoint a commission and find out how much is due to the people from whom we have taken these wells; find out how much they have invested." And the commission was appointed. It made its report. The people, of course, said, "No, that is not fair. You owe us more than that." But it has been settled.

We are already carrying out the Atlantic Charter on the American continent. Now, what we need is a more definite organization of the Pan-American Union itself. That beautiful building in Washington, all the niceties that you attend in Washington, all the beautiful music you hear, haven't the least political power. Here we have a tremendous problem with Argentina. The Pan-American Union can't touch it. It couldn't begin to touch the war against Paraguay and Bolivia. Now it is working under a new law that the Pan-American Union can only distribute information and talk nicely about neighborliness, but it can't do anything about political problems.

We must come together now and have a real re-organization of the Pan-American Union. All through Latin America they are talking about it. The dominance of the United States must be eliminated from that Union and we must go on in a definite organization. I would suggest that, in the first place, these countries which have been meeting at about five-year periods should meet every two years, and that the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the 21 Republics should act as the executive committee of this general international organization. Every year they should meet and carry out the work of keeping our good relationship going on the continent.

Then the present Pan-American Union itself shall be the Secretariat for this larger, inter-American society of nations, which shall have under its direct control all of our cultural and our economic and our political and our social relationships. The ten commissions shall be organized not only with diplomatic people, but with specialists and with technicians, with the ability to go forward and carry out problems, even build an inter-American university, if you want to, and make that a section of one of the inter-American commissions. You could make a big publishing house part of the cultural section of one of these commissions.

The most remarkable development has been through the economic world. We are always saying that economic interchange is political as well as economic. I think that the inter-American organization has shown, through these three or four years now, that international economic cooperation can be handled in a way that government and private interests both will be encouraged.

What has been done by the United States Government through the Export and Import Bank, and through the Inter-American Economic and Financial Commission, has been, in the first place, to see that Latin America has been aided in her industrialization. Now that is fundamental in the development of higher standards of living in Latin America.

Latin America has lived in a colonial economy: therefore, her people have been underfed and they haven't had their health looked after. They have been living under a low level of economic life. Purely for our own benefit we ought to aid in the lifting of the status of the Latin American people because, at the present time, out of 130,000,000 population, 100,000,000 Latin Americans can't buy five-cent gadgets from the United States. What can you buy from the United States if you are making ten cents a day and have 14 children to support? Not very much.

Now if the United States business people want to sell more goods to Latin America, they must aid Latin America in industrialization. Don't be alarmed because we have gone in with Brazil. To develop a steel mill doesn't mean that we won't sell any steel, and because we have gone in with Brazil that we won't sell anything else to Brazil. The people who come to work around that steel mill and get one dollar a day, or maybe two dollars a day, will have money to buy the things that we sell them, or at least they can go to a ten-cent store and buy a few things. It is in that way that we can aid the lifting of the standard of the life of the Latin American people. We have done a good deal along those lines in Latin America already.

We must see, too, that the old conception of exploitation is over. I suppose the Latin Americans have found out really how to deal with the great corporations from the outside, those who come in to exploit their people. One of the ways they are doing that is to say that every business organization must employ at least 75, some of them say 90 per cent of the natives of the country. The Latin Americans are learning many other ways to control the big corporations.

However, we ourselves must see that there is none of the old exploitation. There is plenty of room for American capital which will cooperate with Latin-American capital and will develop an inter-American corporation or business that will show that altogether on the American continent we can work out the problem in a united way.

The economic cooperation has been, I think, even more successful than the political. Now we must work together on this matter of democracy.

Dr. Eichelberger, I believe in everything you have said about the Dumbarton Oaks Conference. I want you to understand that we trained Mr. Hull for all of this. He didn't know a thing about it when he started around '33, but he has come out as a great leader of world organization.

We have developed in the years of history of the Pan-American Union the successful international organization. Now we must keep that organization. We must keep this unity here on the American continent. We must bring these Latin Americans right on into this organization. We must remember that even way beyond Mr. Hull was Bolivar who, in '18 and '26, called for the first conference for international organization. . . . Bolivar saw it, and very much of what he proposed at Panama has been lifted up and put into this beautifully sounding name of Dumbarton Oaks. But let's keep that unity on the American continent and use that for the unity of the world!



# China's Place and Problems In the Postwar Settlement

DR. B. A. LIU

*Radio Director of the Chinese News Service, New York,  
At Mass Meeting, Colton Memorial Chapel, Oct. 25.*

**A**BOUT two weeks ago Dr. Lewis spoke at a dinner in New York honoring my country on the 33d anniversary of the birth of the Republic of China. Tonight it is my privilege to pay a return call to Dr. Lewis here at Lafayette College and to thank him for his generous interests in behalf of China and for his untiring efforts in the cause of American-Chinese cultural relations.

It is especially gratifying for me to share the platform tonight with Madame Tabouis, representing a great nation noted for her immortal contributions to the civilization of mankind in the Western sphere, much in the same way as my people have made their modest contributions in the Eastern sphere.

China, together with France, the United States, Great Britain and Russia, as the five major partners in the company of the United Nations, expect to come out of this war faced with tremendous responsibilities for the maintenance of peace and security for all peoples. Each of these nations must assume her share of these responsibilities. In the nature of things as they are, China's contributions toward postwar world peace and security will not be primarily in the use of force for the safeguarding of general security and the prevention of armed aggression. Neither will China be able, in the beginning of the post war period, to be of much assistance to the other war-devastated nations in the gigantic tasks of rehabilitation.

However, it is my hope and belief that China's voice will be heard in the councils of the United Nations lending the weight of her four hundred fifty million people to all sincere and well-directed efforts toward the prevention of future wars and the achievement of lasting peace. I shall try to outline for you some of the ways in which I think China's contributions will be made in this direction.

Out of the centuries-long national experience and historical traditions of the Chinese people, I wish to select three or four general principles which I believe to be applicable both within and among the nations of the world.

First, I wish to submit the principle of rational pacifism. It is no accident that in this global war Japan, a comparative newcomer among Oriental nations, is an exponent of the aggressive and ruthless militarism which characterizes the Axis partners, while China, whose continuous national existence dates back almost forty centuries, finds herself from the beginning at a disadvantage due to relative military unpreparedness—a condition more or less in common with the majority of the democratic nations.

China was not prepared nor equipped for this fight because her people have for many, many generations been brought up on the principle that it is always better to appeal to human reason rather than brute force in the settlement of disputes.

Now that the Chinese people have for more than seven years been compelled to meet force with force, in a bitter struggle for survival and freedom, they have come to regard the proper use of armed force as necessary not only for defense and protection but also for prevention of its misuse by those people and nations bent on destructive purposes. With



DR. B. A. LIU

this idea of the legitimate use of force the Chinese people will agree. But they will still hold to their belief—as deeply ingrained as any religious conviction—that, in the long run, it is better to appeal to reason rather than force in the settlement of human disputes and differences. It is my personal conviction that this principle of rational pacifism needs to be incorporated as one of the fundamental elements in the structure of a peaceful world.

The second principle I wish to see embodied in the magna carta of the world organization is that of racial equality. One of the first articles of the Draft Constitution of the Republic of China, published in 1936, declares all component races of the Chinese nation to be equal. This is merely in line with the historic traditions of racial equality and non-discrimination which have continued with rare exceptions to be observed in China both in principle and in practice. In contrast to the Japanese dogma of racial superiority, the Chinese people have never proclaimed themselves either racially superior or inferior to the peoples of any other nation in the world.

Time was when the ignorant mandarins of the isolated Chinese court used to regard all foreigners coming to our country as culturally somewhat less advanced than the subjects of the Chinese Empire. Yet the fact that many of these foreigners, once they learned to speak the Chinese language and read the Chinese classics, were treated with great courtesy and even respect shows that the basis for prejudice in



the first instance was due to a misunderstanding of relative cultural achievements rather than to any feeling of racial inequality.

In more recent times, Chinese emigrants to various countries have learned through sorrowful experience the injustice and cruelties perpetrated under misguided racial theories—not all of which originating from the Nipponese or Nazi propagandists, either. Our friends—the American people—did a noble thing when they, through their representatives in Congress, finally removed from their books the unworthy Exclusion Acts discriminating against Chinese immigrants on the basis of their racial origin.

If we are not to perpetuate the ignominious rubbish of racism which forms the basis of the Nazi-Nipponese ideologies against which we are waging this war, and if we are not to see the next generation of the human race engaged in another fratricidal war along racial or color lines, then it is imperative that the principle of racial equality be established, not only in individual countries such as China or Russia, but among all countries of the world, beginning with members of the United Nations.

Just as important, I think, to the postwar world, and just as strongly entrenched in Chinese traditions as these principles of rational pacifism and racial equality, is that of religious tolerance. By this principle the so-called "heathen" Chinese have managed to live together for forty centuries or more without those bloody religious wars occurring so frequently in the pages of western European history. By this same principle, unconsciously transmitted with the mother's milk through many generations, the Chinese people have enjoyed a religious freedom and emancipation such as most of the western countries today are still hoping for.

I dare say the Chinese people, by and large, are perhaps as religiously inclined as, say, the population of the United States. There are probably as many individuals in China as there seem to be in this country given over to religious fervor or even fanaticism. There may also be as many atheists or simply persons with no particular religious bent whatever. But, whereas in this country a person is more or less expected to declare his allegiance to one faith or another, and have his name enrolled in one church register or another, it is true that in China one does not generally feel obliged to enter into a monogamous relationship with any particular church or sect.

The Chinese people have thrived on what they call their "three religions and nine sects"—meaning Confucianism, Taoism, Buddhism, and various small religious or semi-religious sects. One of these principal religions—Buddhism—was introduced by missionaries from India in the first century of the Christian era. At the present time Buddhism has become so much a part of Chinese life as to be indistinguishable from one of the indigenous Chinese religions. In comparatively recent times the Moslem and Christian religions have found their place among the accepted schools of religious teaching in China.

Aside from short periods of mistrust and prejudice against each of the imported religions in turn, on the whole the Chinese people have come to accommodate themselves fairly well to the combined influences of these various faiths and creeds. There is no national religion or church for the Chinese people, nor is there any attempt to set up an exclusive body of religious teachings with official sanction. The choice of a religious faith is as free for the individual Chinese person as the choice, let us say, of a school or college or club affiliation is for the individual American.

I see no reason whatever for nations to go to war with each other over religious differences; yet I firmly believe it would be well for the peace of the world to have the principle of religious tolerance accepted by the nations both for their

internal and external harmony. Freedom of religion, as one of the essential human freedoms, should certainly be realized in the postwar settlements.

If you do not think these principles I have so far mentioned are too idealistic for a generation already twice disillusioned by world wars, I am going to quote you a passage from an ancient Chinese classic, which, to my mind, sums up very well the idealism of the Chinese people, who still believe it is possible to have a better world than the one in which we live today.

This passage is found in the Book of Rites, one of the classics edited by Confucius. It is generally known as the Doctrine of the Great Commonwealth:

"When the great way prevails, the world is a common state. Officers are elected according to their wisdom and ability, and mutual confidence and harmony obtain. Therefore people regard not only their own parents as parents, and not only their own children as children. The elders are able to enjoy their old age; the young to employ their talents; the juniors are free to grow; the helpless widows and widowers, the lonely orphans, and the crippled and deformed are provided for. Men have their proper occupations, and women their homes. Wealth is not to be wasted, nor is it to be kept only as personal property. Labor is not to be idle, nor is it to be used only for selfish gain."

All of this, remember, was in the days before Confucius. Confucius lived in the sixth century, B.C.

I will continue.

"In this way, scheming and intrigues cease to exist, banditry and rebellion do not arise. As a result, outer gates are always open. Such is the age of the Great Commonwealth."

I will be the first to admit that the Chinese people have not lived up to their own ideals. But, have any other people lived up to similar ideals enunciated by the world's great sages and philosophers? I do not think it is necessary for me to add any further commentaries on this ideal of the great Commonwealth which I have just quoted to you. I merely hope that the statesmen of the world who are planning for the peace of the future generations will devote a little of their time, a little of their thought and attention to these words of eternal timeliness.

So far I have touched upon what I believe to be some concrete though intangible contributions which China can make toward the ordering of a peaceful world tomorrow. In order for China to make a full contribution to world peace, to become a stabilizing factor in the world of tomorrow, she must continue her development as a strong and independent nation built upon the Three People's Principles of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, leader of the Chinese Revolution and founder of the Republic of China. These three principle—national independence, political democracy, and economic welfare for the people are the basic ideals of a modern, democratic China. The foremost problem for China after the war will be her own national reconstruction along these lines, including the full realization of constitutional government and an adequate program of industrialization.

The two major problems confronting China after the war are the problem of constitutional development and that of industrialization.

We believe we already have made substantial progress in certain steps being taken toward the realization of this goal. To the Chinese people the ideal of self-government is nothing entirely new. The people of China have been accustomed to thinking that the country belongs to the people and that the ruler only holds his decree—or, rather, he holds his mandate to rule—from the will of the people.

The old philosophers used to talk about the mandate of Heaven. When pressed to define Heaven they had to say that Heaven sees as the people see, and Heaven hears as the



people hear. It has been a traditional belief of the Chinese people that whenever a ruler ceased to rule the country in the best interests of the people, it was the duty of the people to rise up in rebellion and change the mandate. This is what we call the right of rebellion in Chinese political philosophy. All that even through the centuries of monarchical government.

Since the establishment of the Republic, we have come to recognize that it is the privilege of the people directly to elect their own officials and remove them when they no longer serve their functions properly.

It takes time for us to perfect the machinery for such democratic government. We have to begin, first of all, not from the top but from the bottom. We have to build on the basis of the traditional self-government practiced in our own rural communities where the village elder—elected I do not know by what method but by popular acclaim, I suppose,—arbitrates the affairs of the community and serves virtually as the head of the government for the local village or town or county. That system needs to be perfected. It needs to be formalized.

In the past few years we have seen put into practice in over half of the counties in Free China what is known as the new county system of self-government. This system is based on the organization of households in groups of ten to fifteen households known as a "chia" which, in Chinese, means a sort of ward. The heads of these households choose one of themselves as the head of this group of this local community. These ten to fifteen groups in turn form a larger organization known as the "pao" which, in Chinese, is a sort of borough, a larger local government organization consisting of about one hundred households. In turn, one of them is elected as the chief, the head of the local government on that level. These men will serve not only as the administrator of that area, but also perhaps as the superintendent of schools, as the chief of police, as the head of all civilian affairs in that area or of that district. This method first tried out in different parts of the country by various people interested in the problems of rural reconstruction and self-government, as I said, has now been adopted in over half of the counties in Free China.

The next step in this progress will be for the county as a unit to organize for self-government with an elected magistrate for the county.

We have seen developing at the other end in the national government a representative organ known as the People's Political Council which is serving at present as a sort of wartime Parliament. It is not exactly a legislative body; it is rather an advisory body. They meet and hear reports of President Chiang Kai-shek and cabinet members and other government officials. They advise on the national budget and other financial matters. They pass resolutions which, when adopted by the wartime Government, become law for the land.

This People's Political Council is composed of members of various political parties, while the Government itself, at the present time, is still largely controlled by members of the National People's Party because, theoretically, we are still in the stage of development known as the period of political tutelage. This People's Political Council, by the nature of its organization is already preparing the way for the time when the Government in its various branches will be represented by men and women from different political parties. So far,

we have not yet adopted a national constitution. A draft constitution, as I said, has been prepared since 1936. It was ready for consideration and adoption by a People's Assembly called for 1937 which had to be postponed because of the war. We have a promise from the present Government that as soon as possible, perhaps within a year after the war, we shall have a National People's Assembly convened to consider and adopt a national constitution and proceed thereafter to organize the national Government along constitutional democratic lines.

At the same time we have to complete a job of popular education of the millions of illiterate men and women so as to prepare them for participation in a political democracy. Under this literacy education movement, sixty thousand new village and town schools were established in 1942 alone. Since 1938, according to official statistics, fifty million adults and children have been taught to read through the program of literacy education.

So much for the development toward constitutional democracy.

For the improvement of the livelihood of the Chinese people it will be necessary for China to accelerate her program of industrialization already started before the war. A survey of China's mineral resources will show that she cannot ever hope to rival a country such as the United States in the production of those minerals which are essential for large-scale industrial development.

However, China's resources are more comparable to those of our northern neighbor—Soviet Russia. Judging by the successful experience of Russia in her industrial development since the last World War, it should be entirely possible for China to look forward, in the next 20 or 25 years after this war, to a similar development on a scale comparable to that of Russia.

Just to mention a few of the elements in the program of industrialization to which China must devote her attention after the war, we must first have a modern system of transportation a network of railways of highways of water transportation, and air transportation. Again, her mineral and energy resources must be exploited as rapidly but as economically as possible. Both heavy and light industries must be quickly established and extended, partly through private enterprise and partly through Government operation.

In this whole program of industrialization China will have to count heavily on assistance from her friends abroad, particularly from the United States, in machinery, in materials, in money, and in men. This may seem like presumption on our part, but I do believe it would be found profitable to all concerned if we could have some form of lend-lease or mutual aid program worked out on a peacetime basis for this purpose.

Finally, when the level of livelihood of the Chinese people—constituting as they do about one-fifth of the world's population—is generally raised to a degree comparable to that of the people of western nations, and when the establishment of a constitutional democratic government is fully accomplished in China, you may expect to see China take her rightful place as an equal member in the family of nations, and her people make their full contribution toward a lasting peace for the postwar world.



# France and the Future Security And Prosperity of Europe

MME. GENEVIEVE TABOUIS

*Publicist and Traveler*

*Editor and Publisher of "Pour La Victoire,"*

*At Mass Meeting, Colton Memorial Chapel, Oct. 25.*

LET me thank you for inviting me to be one of your guest speakers tonight, thus giving me the opportunity of expressing my happiness over the recognition of the French Provisional Government by your great Republic. It means a great deal to me that my very first speech on France and the future of Europe since then should be given this very night under the auspices of your organization.

I cannot refrain also from expressing to you the deep gratitude of the French political exiles in this country once more the interpreters of their 40 million countrymen whom your armies have liberated and your Government restored to greatness.

Since yesterday a new era has begun for France. The words "collaboration, capitulation, occupation" have vanished into a dreadful nightmarish past, while the words "underground resistance to the invader," have entered the imperishable testimonials of the annals of our most sublime national glories and the slogan "war to the end" with our allies against Germany and Japan has become the order of the day.

I think it is possible to form an idea of the new Europe through the countries that your armies have already liberated. Of course we must look ahead beyond present internal disturbances which are more or less the inevitable consequences of five years of suffering and which are only temporary. We then see a world so different from that of 1939 that we seem to be dreaming.

Like a cyclone a gigantic revolution has broken loose over the old continent and swept everything with it—traditions, laws, constitutions, thrones, republics. There is nothing left of the past. The dawn of a new era is rising over the old continent in this Autumn of 1944.

There is a wide, unfathomable gap between the France of 1939 and the France of today. Now everywhere in France, they seem "to hate the past." It will be extremely difficult for men who formerly practiced the liberal professions,—lawyers, diplomats, editors, judges, engineers, financiers—to maintain themselves even if they played the part of heroes during the occupation. The former French Premier, President Paul-Boncour, in Paris today, is forced to wage a terrific battle in order to have a reasonable percentage of former deputies included in the new Assembly, in spite of the fact that their behavior has been irreproachable.

So the French Provisional Government is starting by changing everything—the names of all the newspapers, the names of the streets, drawing new laws in every field of activity, above all in the economic field, which will bring about a great French New Deal. The army will retain its corps of officers now made up of unknown but brave civilians who fought in sandals and sweaters in the ranks of F.F.I. and who come of the four corners of France. The film industry will be governed by new regulations as will books and newspaper publishers. Education will be radically altered and free schooling up to the higher grades will give



MME. GENEVIEVE TABOUIS

to all children of our country equal opportunity in life.

But perhaps the most revolutionary measure in the French judicial system is the law which applies to so-called "national unworthiness" and which will definitely bar the liberal and political professions to all citizens whose attitude toward the country has been deemed guilty, leaving them only tilling of the soil as means of livelihood, if even that.

Such is the outline of the immense revolution which as in all the other countries of Europe has been accomplished in France and which political men declare is much greater in its consequences than the Revolution of 1789. Such is France today, but more alive than ever, because it has recaptured its essential qualities—patriotism, bravery, the willingness to take risks and, above all, liberty and the exercise of freedom.

After all it matters not that France is grappling with the strife between the F.F.I., the de Gaullists and the Communists, because France has found her soul again as in the time of Joan of Arc and of the "Sans-Culottes" soldiers. She has the will to live and according to the latest agreements between General Eisenhower and General de Gaulle, the French Army will become a reservoir of new strength for the Allies. In short, France has taken her place back in the world.

Now let us take a look at this world. It was born at the Teheran Conference under the auspices of President Roose-



velt who fully understood that the new world should take shape in an atmosphere of good will toward the Soviets. It must not be forgotten that this war originated from the fact that the Treaty of Versailles excluded Russia from the Community of Great Peoples and, prior to that, from the existence of "spheres of influence" in the old Continent.

Therefore, out of the accord of Teheran with the Soviets, the American negotiators launched their great policy whose object is to suppress spheres of influence which had been the cause of all the European wars for centuries.

Thus we can see that in an attempt to mitigate the influence of the British in Arab countries, for instance, the Americans and the Russians have endeavored to conclude treaties with the Arab powers. By the same token, America is trying to counteract the British tendency to gain exclusive supervision of the Italian peninsula which might serve as a base in a next war. Again America seeks to counteract British or Russian influence in the Balkans in somewhat backing the British. Everywhere your great Republic represents "international morality." She is the real protector of the Four Freedoms. She has since 1823 given ample proof of this, by granting asylum to all the oppressed. America can produce an excellent certificate of good conduct for she has never ceased to shelter and support those men from any country who were destined in all times to create the world of tomorrow.

I think America alone today enjoys this enviable position because no one can suspect her of imperialism. The whole world knows that she wants nothing and it is precisely for this reason that she alone can undertake this great struggle against spheres of influence, the success of which more than ever is indispensable to the new world.

Should America not pursue this policy against spheres of influence, it is not unlikely that Soviet Russia might be tempted to indulge in wide expansion, thus more or less inciting Britain to oppose her, for Britain is not so much adverse to spheres of influence and because of this the British-Russian conflict to which veteran pessimists often refer as being written on the wall might not be very far off.

What will the new Europe be like? Well, one of its chief characteristics will lie in the development of a new form of patriotism among different nations. Forms of government as such may not be so different after all.

For instance, the Soviets are thinking about Carol of Romania, Otto of Hungary, King Peter of Yugoslavia, while the British are favoring the King of the Belgians, the Scandinavian monarchs, the Queen of Holland, the King of Greece and perhaps still the King of Italy, not to mention a new King for Spain. Nevertheless the situation will be different wherever a new patriotism takes root and total nationalism, such as the Italian Fascists understood it, is quite dead.

To this you may say that the bitter struggle of the Yugoslav today to obtain Venice, or the Polish struggle for strips of frontier lands, do not reflect the end of nationalism nor for that matter do certain speeches which certain present French leaders have made. But this is the natural reaction of people who have suffered under the heel of the oppressor and it will soon disappear.

We need only to study the personality of the new leaders of Europe, their background of struggle for their ideals of liberty which have meant for them years of exile or prison, and very often torture.

So, this time, it is difficult not to believe that the United States of Europe are about to be realized and you know that aside from some unknown factors in the Balkans, we may say that the new Europe has already drawn its geographical boundaries.

Today political life is starting anew in France. As you know, on the 7th of December the first Consultative Assembly will hold a meeting presided over by the 90-year-old Jules Jeanneney, former President of the Senate. Two hundred and fifty members—including both former and new deputies—will attend, and new laws and policies will be discussed. On Feb. 5 next, the French people will go to the polls for the first time in order to elect municipal and regional councils. As you know, the Provisional Government is composed of rather good leaders with level heads on their shoulders. So it is to be expected that within the next few months France will be represented by a Government similar to the Popular Front but this time a most genuine Popular Front. I mean that France will have performed her true democratic revolution while preserving the most characteristic traits of her private and public life which are her greatest attraction.

France is truly a country apart. Proverbs and songs, which always reflect the truth, are there to prove it. "When Paris sneezes, the whole of Europe has a cold," was the saying current in all the European chancelleries. Josephine Baker, in unison with the entire world, never stopped singing "I have two loves, my country and Paris." And long before that Jefferson declared "Every man has two countries, his and France." All this proves that France is endowed with exceptional gifts which withstand wars and revolutions. This was demonstrated by the attitude of European countries during the past four years over the differences which arose between General de Gaulle, America, Britain and Russia.

All countries, without exception, even those which were anti-French during the catastrophe, have supported my country in all its demands, even those that were the least wise. When I asked people from the Balkans or Central Europe the reason for this, they answered: "Well, we know that your country is not right today. But we have such an urgent need for France in Europe, because there can be no Europe without France."

Perhaps you will wonder why France, so small on the map, has had such world wide influence. And this for centuries? This is due to two reasons: first, to the fact that she always has been the protector of the liberties of Europe, and second, to her particular genius. The French, in spite of their defects, always brought to the world this "particular genius," the lack of which caused the poet to exclaim: "France, without thee, the world is lonely!"

France's role in the past was to protect the small nations and, through an alliance with Russia, to maintain order and equilibrium in the European continent.

Yesterday morning when Mr. Bidault, Minister of Foreign Affairs, received the press at the Quai d'Orsay, he occupied the chair of the celebrated Minister of Foreign Affairs, Vergennes, and he has again taken up the threads of traditional French diplomacy. What has the immutable policy of France been since the time of King Henry IV? The role that both geography and destiny assigned to France was, above all, to maintain equilibrium on the old continent. To achieve this, France made alliances with the small countries, and when this was not sufficient to hold Germany in check, she made an alliance with the Russian colossus. After the first World War, and despite the first League of Nations, France renewed her traditional policy toward the small nations in Eastern Europe in order to restrain a resurgent Germany.

Today again the task of France—politically and culturally—is to restore and maintain the European equilibrium. This has become indispensable in spite of the new league of nations. But France can only hope to do this by coop-



erating closely with America. And no doubt America was thinking of the political role that France will be called upon to play when she arranged that my country should have a permanent seat on the World Security Council.

How will Mr. Bidault direct French diplomacy? Two very different policies lie ahead of him. One is that of arrogant nationalism, the other is broad and generous and mindful of the needs of the new international order, and knowing Mr. Bidault as I do, I feel certain that this is the path he will follow, even if at times he does appear somewhat nationalistic in his views. For narrow nationalism is the mark of small countries who wish to remind the great powers of their existence, or the characteristics of rising authoritarian states. On the contrary, the more receptive a country is to international cooperation, the more she is willing to contribute bases, sea and air lanes to the system of international security the greater she is. I have no anxiety on this score because I know that it is going to be the policy of France.

Today there will be no more alliances or spheres of influence in the true sense of the term. But this does not mean that the role which history and geography have assigned to every nation will not be the same. France in any case will represent Latin culture as against the Great Pan Slavism which will stretch up through Vienna and the Rhine. Around France will gather a democratic Italy and a Republican Spain, also Belgium and Holland, to mention only a few.

The great new factor in Europe, the only one that can guarantee life and peace to the old continent, is America. And France is your bridgehead to Europe. For there is no country in the world who loves America more than France does. One reason being that when France is herself again she will be perhaps the only country in Europe which has the same understanding of international morality as has America.

So as a conclusion to my first speech on "France and the new world" I would like to state that the future of the world depends on you. For, were America to withdraw from Europe, and were Europe to be now deprived of America's leadership in matters of international morality and respect for the four freedoms, and were America not to maintain her close friendship with the Soviets, then I would say to those who are hopeful for the future, that they are mad. Otherwise we have every reason to have confidence in this new League of Nations which is being organized at Dumbarton Oaks. And this for the main reason that for the first time in the history of the world there will be a permanent Interallied General Staff. And also, because every country will have to place part of its military forces at the disposal of this General Staff, to be used at once in case of emergency.

Thus the world may be able to live in peace. And we can all hope that this peace shall endure for at least a century. The century which will be recalled in the future text books: "The century of the American peace."



*Campus Scene, Lafayette College, Easton, Pa.*



# Round Table Sessions and Panel Discussion

**R**OUND table sessions of the Lafayette Institute the morning of Oct. 26 brought thorough discussion of six important postwar problems—world organization, labor and industry, relief and rehabilitation, education, religion, and minorities and human rights.

Director of the world organization session in Pardee Auditorium was Prof. Paul B. Eaton. Chairman was Mr. Malcolm W. Davis, Associate Director of the Division of Intercourse and Education, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Following an address by Mr. Clark M. Eichelberger, Director, League of Nations Association, discussion participants were Dr. Samuel Guy Inman, professor, lecturer and adviser on Latin-American Affairs; Mr. John F. Goldsmith and Mr. Rufus Walter Bishop.

Labor and industry was the theme of the session in Kirby Hall with Prof. Miller D. Steever as Director and Dr. John I. Knudson, Professor of History and Economics, Brooklyn Polytechnic Institute, as Chairman.

Mr. Robert J. Watt, International Representative of the American Federation of Labor, was principal speaker. Discussion participants were Mr. Harvey F. Mack, Mr. Julian E. McGiffert, Miss Grace Sardegna, District Manager, International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, A.F. of L.; and Mr. C. B. Newell, Director, District No. 9, United Steel Workers of America, C.I.O.

Prof. William B. Plank was Director, and Miss Margaret Forsyth, Executive Director of Foreign Division of the National Board of the Y.W.C.A., was Chairman of the relief and rehabilitation session in Markle Hall.

An address by Dr. Frank B. Boudreau, Executive Director of the Millbank Memorial Fund, opened the discussion joined in by Dr. B. A. Liu, Radio Director of the Chinese News Service, New York; Mr. Stanley W. Lanterman, Mrs. Rollo S. Knapp, and Mrs. William M. Wolverton.

Dean Robert G. Crosen, of Lafayette College, was Director and President Levering Tyson of Muhlenberg College was Chairman for the session on education for a postwar world, held in Hogg Hall.

Dr. Carter Davidson, President of Knox College, Galesburg, Ill., was speaker. Discussion participants included Mr. Walter D. Head, Headmaster of Montclair (N. J.) Academy, Mr. Elton E. Stone and Prof. W. C. Eaton.

Religion in the postwar world was the theme of the session in Colton Chapel, with Rev. William Crittenden as Director and Dr. Carl Hermann Voss, Extension Secretary of the Church Peace Union, as Chairman.

Dr. C. Irving Benson, Superintendent Minister of Wesley Church, Melbourne, Australia, who is visiting the United States on a goodwill mission, was speaker. Discussion participants were Rev. E. A. Conway, S.J., Professor of Religion, Regis College, Denver; Dr. William P. Merrill, President, Church Peace Union; Dr. Ralph B. Hindman and Rabbi Louis Katsoff.

The minorities and human rights session had as its Director Prof. Frank R. Hunt, and its Chairman Dr. William Agar, Executive Vice President, Freedom House, N. Y.

Miss Dorothy McConnell, Editor of World Outlook, was speaker. Participating in the discussion were Dr. Joshua Trachtenberg, Mr. Israel Krohn and Rev. Shelby Rooks.

In the Panel Discussion at Pardee Auditorium in the after-



**MR. MALCOLM W. DAVIS**

noon, presided over by Dr. Henry A. Atkinson, General Secretary, The Church Peace Union and World Alliance for International Friendship Through the Churches, reports on the round table sessions were submitted by the six Chairmen as follows:

## **MR. MALCOLM W. DAVIS** *Chairman, World Organization*

**I** PROPOSE to do two things in behalf of the Round Table Session this morning which discussed the general problem of World Organization. I am going to put a point to you about the authority of Congress under the constitution to act on this problem. Before doing that, I am going to review briefly, on behalf of the members of this morning's round table, the main points brought out in discussion over a period of some two hours. That cannot all be summed up in five minutes but, after reading the outline summary to them, a brief report can be given. The main points and conclusions developed on World Organization this morning were briefly these:

First, that the Dumbarton Oaks proposals should be taken as a beginning basis for action and for development further of the international organization that we want in the world.



Second, that that further development is desirable, there were some members of the round table who argued in favor of a federal union system in the world. There were others who thought it doubtful that any such system could be made workable now.

There was agreement that the Dumbarton Oaks proposals should be developed further in the general interest of welfare in the world, although recognizing that in any system there can never be any final guarantee or insurance against risks of trouble.

We remember the war between the states in our own federal union after it had existed for nearly three-quarters of a century. When groups are resolute and strong enough, they may challenge each other under any system, but that an agreed system is a better guarantee than no system at all.

So, taking the risks of the uncertainty, the discussion went on to a consideration of the powers of Congress to authorize American action on the international field, and there was some discussion whether this could be done by joint action of both Houses of Congress under its general powers, or by two-thirds vote in the Senate under the arrangement for advice and consent to the ratification of treaties by the President. I would not say that there was any conclusion from the debate, but both of these considerations were brought out.

Furthermore, there was a discussion as to whether a universal system in the world, a general system, including all states, or a more limited kind of regional system was desirable, and whether there should be some provision for secession—if you want to use that word—or withdrawal from a world organization. The majority opinion seemed to be that there should be some provision both for withdrawal or for the expulsion of nations, temporarily, from a system in the world.

Furthermore, there was consideration of the risk involved in giving power to an American representative in a council, the risk involved of becoming engaged in action determined by the council in which we might not, all of us, want to go ahead. It was recognized that that kind of power to a representative of the United States, if it be conveyed, carries with it an unavoidable risk; but that, once again, all risks cannot be eliminated, and we have experienced twice now the risk of getting into trouble by trying to stay out of it. We know how that has worked. Beyond that, there was a question as to the division of powers between a general assembly of the nations in the United Nations of the world and an executive council.

The tendency in this morning's session was to favor broadening the powers of a general assembly, to make and mould policy, and to lay down the principles by which an international organization ought to be guided, and to assign to the council executive or security, whichever you wish to call it—more the executive responsibility for applying, in action, the principles that a general assembly might lay down in agreement. I wish to broaden out, you see, the representation of the small states beyond what is foreseen yet in the Dumbarton Oaks proposals.

There was further emphasis on the necessity in connection with that developing through the assembly and through the economic and social council every possible provision for liberating trade and for raising the standards of welfare in the world. It is recognized that the assembly's action in these matters is more by consultation and by making recommendations to the states because that is the way in which such matters can best be advanced; whereas a security council might, in an emergency, have to act on behalf of the organization as a whole. Nevertheless, there was a great deal of opinion this morning in favor of developing

further the economic and social welfare functions of an international organization through its assembly.

There was emphasis put on the need in this connection, and from one of the members of the panel who, himself, is an exporter, on the advantages of two-way trade, or of many world-way trades, if you like, as against the disadvantages of a self-enclosed and restricted system, particularly in the period like the one following the war when adjustment of balances and credits and debits will require a broad exchange of goods and services if it is to work at all and if we are to avoid another crisis of depression.

Furthermore, a question was raised regarding Russia, and how far it can be expected that Russia may go along genuinely in an international organization such as is being proposed. The consideration presented in reply was that with great uncertainties on both sides, theirs and ours, because they are in many cases just as uncertain about us as we are about them.

They have given indication of an intention to see how far we are willing to go in agreement with them, how far they can go in agreement with us, and that is worth testing out and can be tested out in practice so that we can see how far we can get, and that that is far preferable to any other alternative in relationship with some very great, massive state occupying one-sixth of the regions of the world.

Finally, there was a question about contingents or a single joint international force,—national contingents or a joint force. It was hard to say just what the majority opinion of the round table was, but it seemed rather to be still on the side of national contingents which might be made available for the use of an international body charged with emergencies.

Those are the general and main points of this morning's discussion and, in relation to all of them, there is a final point that I should like to make concerning the authority of Congress under the Constitution. That document takes reading and re-reading before we really know, before we begin to appreciate the foresight, the sagacity, the wisdom of its drafters.

Anyone drafting a constitution now will be hard to match what they did. It was refreshed to me recently to have called to my attention a section in the original text of Article 1, Section 8, Paragraph 10, defining the powers of Congress under the Constitution. In that first section which I repeat to you so you can look it up for yourselves because you may want to,—Article 1, Section 8, Paragraph 10, and it will stand and have stood since the ratification of the Constitution since 1789 these words:

"That Congress shall have power to define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offenses against the law of nations."

That is the language of the Constitution of the United States assigning the powers of Congress. It recognizes specifically in its text a law of nations. That is the early American tradition, if you know your history, in regard to the idea of a family of nations under law. The idea of absolute and unlimited sovereignty according to the will of one people used in their own way as they wish, developed later that there was an idea of imperialists is not only in our country but in many other countries.

The early American tradition was the tradition of a law of nations which we proposed to respect, and with regard to which we put in our basic document the words that Congress shall have power, and that means by ordinary action of both Houses, you see, to define and punish offenses against the law of nations.

I leave that with you.



**DR. JOHN I. KNUDSON,**  
*Chairman, Labor and Industry*

**M**R. STEEVER of this Institute arranged a very able meeting of panel leaders, and taking part were Mr. McGiffert, as well as Mr. Mack representing industry and Mr. Watt, and also Miss Sardegna and Mr. Newell, representing labor groups.

The question might seem somewhat remote from a general theme of the Institute of a world order, and yet there is a general feeling, I think, that a healthy domestic economy is essential in the maintenance of world peace. That is, we cannot hope to enjoy national good will if we have an upset economy in this country and others.

With that in mind, we proceed to think along the lines that might bring about good economic conditions in our own country. As members of the audience, we were especially interested in the greatest good to the greatest number of, perhaps, the consumers and not any particular group, even though it might be labor or industry. The point was brought up that we are perhaps moving in the direction when we will not speak so much of labor and industry; but the two groups might eventually get on the same side of the table and feel that they have the problems in common, and work together in solving those problems rather than engaging in a prolonged tug-of-war where perhaps both sides lose in the struggle, and perhaps not only they but also we, as consumers, will lose.

I was very interested in the viewpoints of these people such as Mr. Watt, in the high circles of the American Federation of Labor who, I think, pleased our industry leaders very well. They seemed to have been ready to say "Amen" to everything he had to say. I was very much interested in Miss Sardegna who represents the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union in the American Federation of Labor. When I asked her how it might be possible for the ladies of the audience to obtain two dresses and two hats where they had one dress and one hat before, her answer was quite unexpected to me. She pointed out it was largely a question of finding the right husband you might get these added garments.

From the standpoint of the economist, he, of course, is interested in getting more goods to the consumer, and that in itself should supply the jobs. Merely making of jobs as such, as an end in our economic life, is getting the cart before the horse.

I must say, frankly, that we did not get down to brass tacks on some of these problems of finding out how we might get more goods and thereby give more jobs. We were a bit hesitant on some of the points. I think it is a very good conclusion, in spite of the fact that we all have self interest, our own interest to serve. It is interesting that we want private industry, we want full production, we want full employment, we want good wages, we want low prices, short hours of work, large insurance, low taxes, and plenty of government spending, and no public debt, and many other things that we cannot have.

It is just a problem of not having enough to satisfy all of the things that we would like to get. Somebody will come up missing, and as dispassionate side line observers we would like to see—and I think the audience would, too—as many as possible get as much as possible without anybody getting more than they might be entitled to. Incidentally, we did not forget it.

There are perhaps some 40,000,000 people who were given the privilege to consume more goods with very low income. If they can get goods at low prices, we might have an economy that will give certain jobs to all who want jobs when this war is over.



**DR. JOHN I. KNUDSON**

**MISS MARGARET FORSYTH**  
*Chairman, Relief and Rehabilitation*

**W**E STARTED by comparing the situation in Europe and in Asia as far as relief needs are concerned. I think that Dr. Liu made it quite clear that the problems of China are overwhelming.

For instance, he gave us one figure of 266,000,000 people who have been forced to leave their homes, who, after the war is over, presumably will have to be rehabilitated. That is in comparison with 20,000,000 to 30,000,000 in Europe, showing something of the size of the problem the Chinese people are facing.

He also pointed out that the war in China has been in progress since 1937, which means going on to the eighth year and, of course, that means a great deal that we sometimes forget in the way of serious problems.

Dr. Liu answered a question that came later on in the discussion, "What is the distinction between relief and rehabilitation?" I think he answered it perhaps better than any of the rest of us. He said, for instance, that 45 per cent of materials that are requested from UNRRA by China are to go to direct relief, food, clothing, medical supplies, temporary shelter; and 55 per cent to rehabilitation, which means the trains, the tracks to carry the food, trucks and so forth, and the seeds for the first planting, and then 983 tons of needles for the women to sew clothes for the people who need

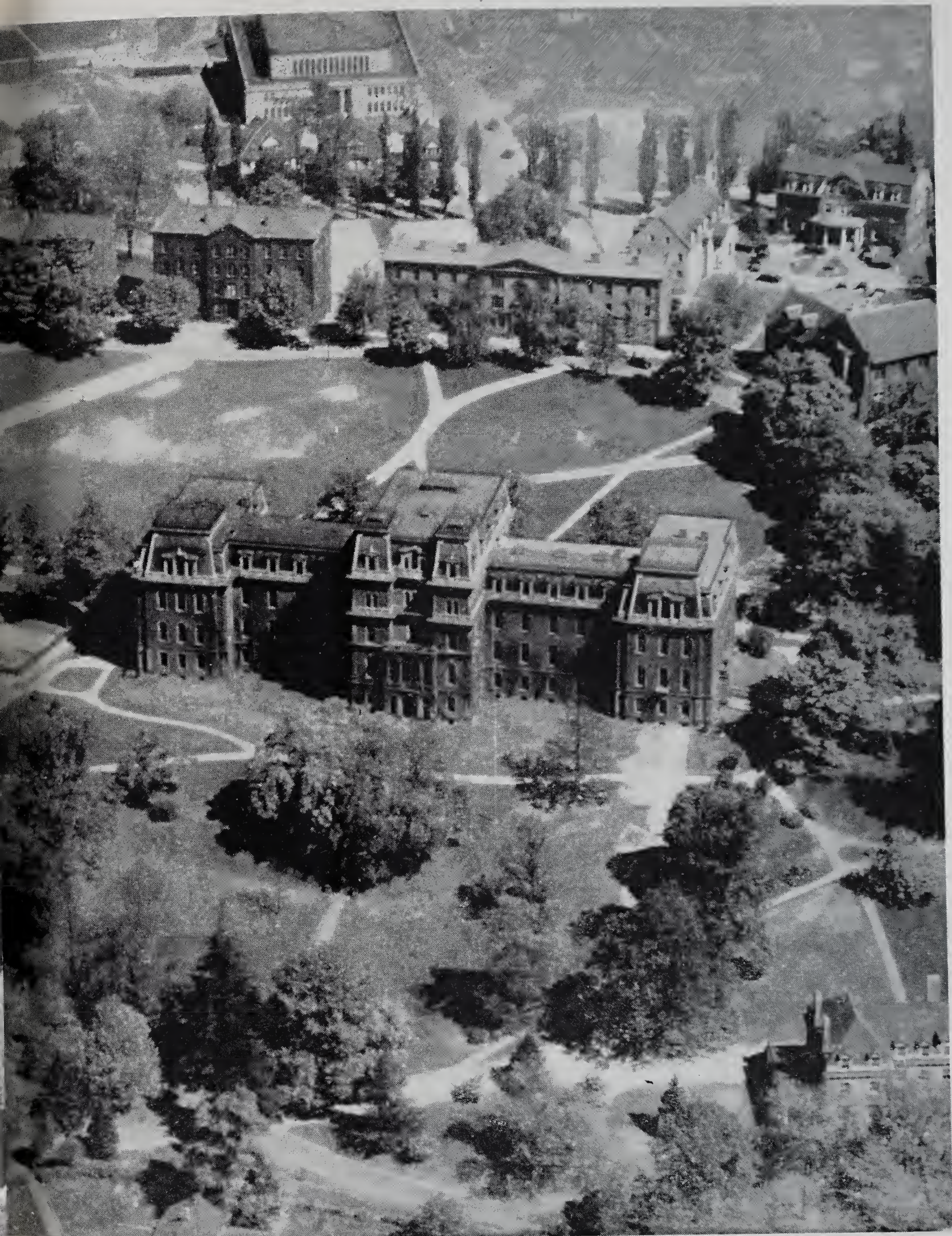
*(Continued on page 22)*





*Airview of Lafayette College, Easton, Pa., where the Lafayette Institute*





of a World Organized for Security and Peace was held Oct. 25-27, 1944.





**MISS MARGARET FORSYTH**

*(Continued from page 19)*

clothes. There he made the distinction between relief and rehabilitation in a very dramatic way.

Several doctors in the panel who were experts gave us pictures of the health needs of the people round the world. Dr. Anderson pointed out that tuberculosis was one of the most serious problems from the standpoint of health all around the world; that the pattern that has been worked out by the doctors in this country will probably provide the pattern for the rest of the world in meeting the needs of those who have tuberculosis.

He also pointed out that personnel is coming to study these matters from other countries. Dr. Liu said that the Chinese Government was sending experts already to this country for training.

Now we turn to the domestic front. Wednesday it was brought out very plainly by the representative from the Veterans Administration what some of the problems were that faced us on the home front so far as rehabilitation was concerned. He explained very well the two laws, one for the disabled returning soldiers, and the other for the G.I. Bill.

Dr. Hindenfeld spoke from the standpoint of mental hygiene of the needs on the home front and the importance of such institutions as rehabilitation and clinics being set up. He spoke of how important it was that emotional aspects be reckoned with adequately.

Practically everybody who spoke mentioned and put emphasis on the responsibility of all members of the community to help people to help themselves. That seemed to be a basic principle of relief and rehabilitation, both here on the home front and abroad.

Toward the end several of the speakers mentioned the spiritual needs, the needs on the moral side and while it was

difficult to distinguish between physical and spiritual needs, the latter must not be lost sight of. Many private agencies are working in international relief and on the home front are concerned about the meeting of spiritual needs.

At the very end a question was raised about what this means from the standpoint of cooperation of all agencies of which we are a part; the necessity for setting up certain basic standards such as UNRRA has set up, and such standards which take into effect equal treatment of all people, no matter of what race, creed or color. There was mentioned the importance for all private agencies to work together in meeting some of the standards that are being set up by Government agencies which are to eliminate overlapping and, in general, to take the proper place that private agencies should take in a democracy.

### **DEAN ROBERT G. CROSEN for PRESIDENT LEVERING TYSON,**

*Chairman, Education for a Postwar World*

**O**UR SESSION was very ably presided over by President Levering Tyson of Muhlenberg College, aided by President Carter Davidson of Knox College. The following participated in the discussion in a formal way: Dr. Walter D. Head, Mr. Elton E. Stone of Easton High School, and Prof. W. C. Eaton of Lafayette College.

In a very able address in opening the question of education for a postwar world, President Davidson gave this keynote sentence: "Let educating men and women be free by



**DEAN ROBERT G. CROSEN**



giving them freedom of choice." That is beyond the basic form of expression. Without choice there is no freedom, and without freedom there can be no true education. In other words, we cannot presume to go back to a purely stereotyped form of education. One form may not be proposed as fitting the needs in any one or all of our colleges. There are various forms in Knox College, and plans may work very well within their own spheres of influence.

I think we all came to realize in our panel discussion that there will be a decided need for more highly individualized educational programs. We touched on the problems concerning the returning of veterans, and I think we, with the experience we have had to date, have learned enough to realize that our programs must be industrialized if they are to help the G.I. change to the A.B.

Dr. Head, in speaking on secondary school standpoint, emphasized the need for more types of high schools, and particularly one type which has not been too widely instituted, that of the vocational school. A great many parents have potential bricklayers in their families that they will not admit.

There seems to be a great deal of work to be done along those lines, and educating our parents, perhaps, and in the full use of all of the facilities which have been developed for guidance work, so that these potential bricklayers may be headed in the proper direction. There may be something to be done in our postwar period in glorifying, or making seem quite as valuable the vocations as compared to professions.

Quite a number of the younger members of our panel participated, and in some cases they were returned veterans. They are very much concerned with their integration into the life of the community and industry.

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**DR. CARL HERMANN VOSS,**  
*Chairman, Religion in the Postwar World*

**I**T IS recognized, I believe, that in the changes going on today throughout the entire world every single phase of our common life will be altered. One of those phases of our common life is the whole question of religion.

Beneath this changing atmosphere there is also the question of that which remains constant. One of those things is the quest, the search for what is called in religious language the Kingdom of God, or the community that tries to incorporate the purpose of the universe upon which our entire life depends.

There is also the belief that the church, itself, is not to be served as an end in itself. The church is simply a means for the greater end of the service of God, in the worship of God, the betterment of the condition of our fellow men.

Toward these objectives we had this morning an inter-faith panel composed of people of Catholic, Protestant and Jewish persuasion. All of them were clergymen.

The keynote was sounded by Dr. C. Irving Benson, Minister of the Cathedral Church of Methodism in Melbourne, Australia, who is here in this country on a goodwill mission. Others were Dr. Ralph B. Hindman of Buffalo, N. Y.; Rev. William Crittenden of Lafayette College Campus, Rabbi Louis Katzoff of Easton, and Father Edward Conway, from whom you will hear more later.

One of the things that came to the fore was that religion could not make itself felt in a world unless it were to issue in some type of social action; and that social action, the changing of society for the good, could not be accomplished without education—the education of all classes and strata in all circumstances of society.

Likewise, it was found that that could not be done without all the groups, especially in Protestantism uniting themselves for they never accomplished anything unless they find some unity—not necessarily uniformity, but unity.

There were the usual discussions about the minority problem, and the question of Palestine again came to the fore because it is in the front of the minds of everyone. It was discussed not as a home for the Jews, but rather as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth. The Jews may migrate there, and may know the integrity which we hope to achieve for them everywhere in the world, as may be their right in a democratic society.

There was also the question of whether organized religion might support the Dumbarton Oaks proposals. There was a debate between super idealists and those who believe we must take that which we can reach in our present time.

I think it was generally understood that religionists as such, should not be squeamish about the use of force. They should realize that force is inevitable in trying to achieve world organization. It does not mean irresponsible force or irresponsible violence which the Nazis, the Japanese or the Italians used, but rather a disciplined force which is exem-



**DR. CARL HERMANN VOSS**

plified in police power to restrain aggression and prevent aggression even before it begins to happen.

Behind all of this, the discussion has been going on in the reports of the five previous seminars. There are many sides that were not touched by our discussion because, after all, religion is something that cannot be pigeonholed. Religion is something that deals with all of life.

I think I would be safe in saying that all that we felt and said could be summed up in this respect: that one of the prime tasks is to ward off isolationism so that our nation and other nations do not tumble into that pitfall, as has happened be-



fore. We have learned again, painfully, that the man does not live unto himself alone and collective security in the international sphere is just as important as mutuality in the democratic sphere of men and affairs.

Secondly, we know that we must have a keenly sensitized social conscience for, without social consciousness, we should not live up to the provision of our common faith.

Thus, it is we celebrated today the first anniversary of the famous tri-faith pattern for peace of which you will hear more later from Father Conway. That pattern of the three faiths—Catholic, Protestant and Jewish—symbolizes the technique by which the three major faiths of America, as well as all the faiths throughout the world, can engage in parallel action toward a common objective. The common objective is found in the seven points of the pattern for peace, namely, the crusade for world order of which this Institute is an example, of which the quest of men throughout the world, is an example.

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### DR. WILLIAM AGAR,

*Chairman, Minorities and Human Rights*

A DISCUSSION on minorities and human rights does not always jump, run and come out with any definite conclusions, so it is not easy to summarize, but I think that I can fairly say, that everybody present there recognized the absolute necessity, if we are to have any kind of peaceful relations between the nations in this world—the United States of America and other nations—that each nation must have the right to solve its own minority problems.

Miss Dorothy McConnell, who was the chief speaker, emphasized particularly for the benefit of us here at home, the problem of the negro and the problem of anti-Semitism. We accepted the fact that we know what the minorities want, and it is nothing at all but the rights to which they are entitled as human beings, with equal opportunity to develop themselves within the framework of the society in which they live; that is, equal opportunity with anybody else. We also accepted the fact of equality.

That is not always done, however. When I say we accepted, there were two or three young men in the audience by whose method of approach to the problem one could tell were possessed of the full-fledged feeling of white racial superiority.

Outside of that, I should say we did accept the fact of equality of races, and whenever one says that I think it is necessary to add that while we do accept equality of races, we do not mean that all of us are just the same.

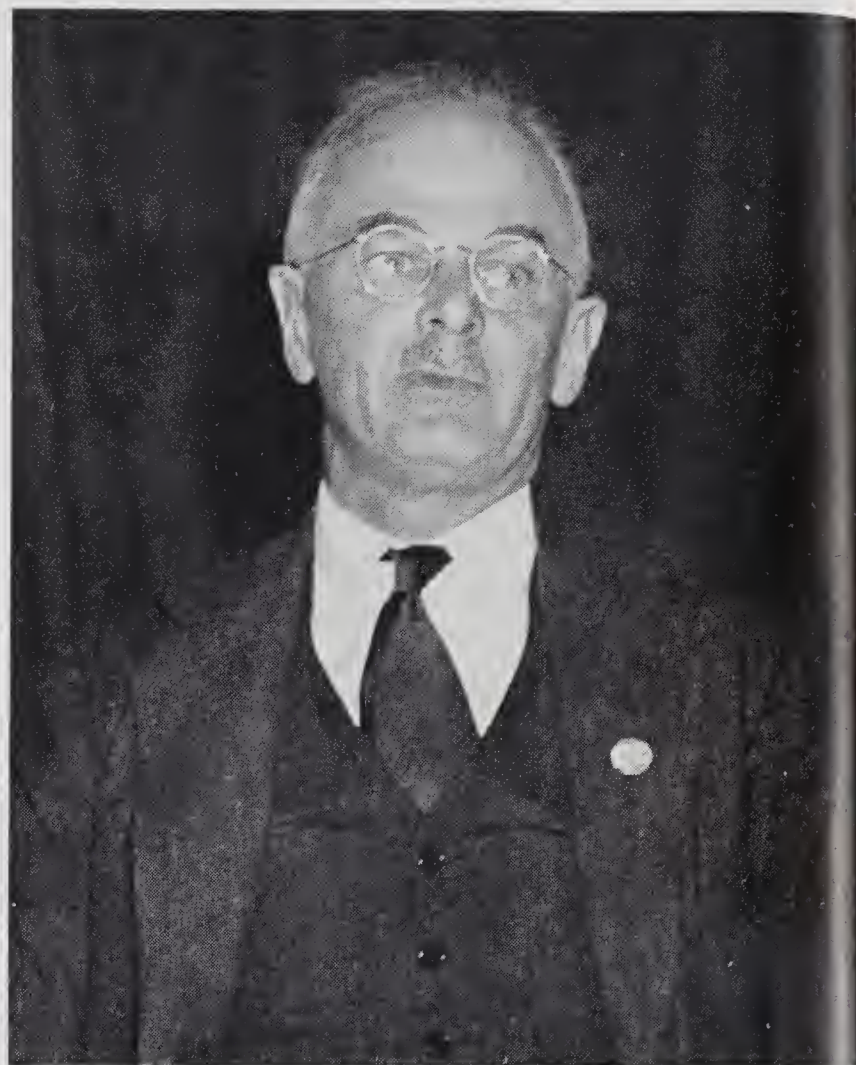
There are plenty of differences between white people and plenty of differences among the negroes, Chinese and all others. But we now accept the findings of science, that one cannot distinguish between the educatability, the morality or anything else of any of the different races.

From that point on, the discussion hinged more or less around the negro's position here in America—what should be done in order to help him to the point where he can accept the responsibilities which we hope some day will be imposed upon him, and how to down the prejudice of the white majority.

It was pointed out very clearly that the negro problem is a white problem here in America. The majority sets the pattern within which the minority must live. While we do not absolve the minority from the necessity of trying to work itself up and take advantage of anything it can in our society, still we stand as those who are to blame for the

things that have happened to minorities if we belong to a majority of any kind.

We recognized, also, that education of the white and of the negro is the only final answer to this thing. The question was brought up as to how far laws can help. We did not follow that very far, and we did not come to any specific conclusion, but I think the general feeling was that while laws are often needful and helpful, they can be pushed aside and loopholes and ways of circumventing the laws can be and will be found unless the people themselves want to live up to the enactment which the law represents.



DR. WILLIAM AGAR

We recognized, also, that this color problem is, in reality, not localized in any particular part of the United States. It is common to the whole country, and it is far more than that—it is a world problem. Some emphasis was laid upon the fact that the white race is a minority race, and that as the future of our world develops along the lines in which we now think it will develop, we will find that if the white race has not, in the meantime, learned to treat what we call the colored races as first-class human beings, we are likely to find ourselves on the wrong end of the whole story. I think that is a very important thing to bear in mind.

We discussed at some length the problem of anti-Semitism, and a good deal was said about Palestine as a home for the Jews; and, as far as I know, there were no particular dissenting opinions as to that. We emphasized particularly the danger of anti-Semitism here in America, which along with the hatred, distrust and discrimination against the negro, has been fanned into flames by Nazi and by Japanese propaganda over the last five or six years. We have always had a certain amount of racial bias, particularly directed against the negro, but those things are far





*South College at Lafayette, Easton, Pa.*

more prominent and far more dangerous today than they have ever been in our society.

We recognized that the whole matter of minorities will come to the forefront much more strongly immediately after the war than now. It seems to be true always in a postwar period, because of the dissipation of war and well recognized economic reasons. For that reason it seems to us necessary that America should, under the explosive character and quality of this minority problem, do something about it before it creeps up on us in its worst form and we find that it is too late to do anything about it.

In conclusion, I think I can say it was generally felt that this minority problem is one which affects us all. The United States of America is a peculiar nation in a certain and very specific way. We have no common national background. We have no common religious background. We have no common background of any kind if you were to go back to just a few years into the ancestry of any one of us. The only thing we have in common is an ideal,—an idea. It is that which binds this amalgamation of people from all over the world together into the unit that we call the United States. That ideal is specifically opposed to all

concepts of discrimination for race or religion.

So, we must understand that we cannot go on giving lip service to an ideal which we find it inexpedient to try to put into practice and expect to live on as a nation. Ideals need to be nurtured as truly as do physical bodies. We will find ourselves at the end of the road soon unless we face these facts and realize that we are not living up to the promise that America gave to the world.

When I say that the minority problem affects us all, I mean it in this way: The Jew is only in a minority when his race is being attacked. He becomes part of the majority immediately when he takes up anti-Negro activities, and so it is with each and every one of us—practically everyone who belongs to a majority and a minority group; maybe several.

Therefore, if we are going to attack one group, we are attacking all. It is in just that way that we can sow the seeds of the future disruption of this country of ours unless we wake up before it is too late.

I think that while I am in part expressing my own views, I am also expressing even in this part, the general feeling of the panel discussion this morning.



# World Peace Through World Trade

**MR. THOS. J. WATSON**

*Honorary President, International Chamber of Commerce*

*President, International Business Machines Corp.,  
At Mass Meeting, Colton Memorial Chapel, Oct. 26.*

I WANT to pay my tribute to Dr. Lewis for what he has done for this great educational institution here in Easton, and for his contributions to everything worth while outside of his regular work. Dr. Lewis has been a pioneer all his life. He has pioneered in his regular work of education. He was a pioneer in founding at Lafayette the first alumni college and during the depression years he formed the first unemployment college in connection with Lafayette. He was a pioneer in organizing the first conference for college and university trustees. That has been one of the most interesting educational organizations in which I have had the privilege to participate, because it brings together trustees from colleges in distant parts of the country, and gives them opportunity to discuss the affairs in the different colleges to the mutual advantage of all. This is the first time an Institute of this kind has been held on a college campus.

Dr. Lewis has been able to do these things because of his vision and courage, and his ability to follow through on his vision.

This Institute is sponsored by 12 outstanding organizations which work along similar lines: Americans United for World Organization, Church Peace Union, Commission to Study the Organization of Peace, Council for Democracy, Council Against Intolerance in America, Christian Conference on War and Peace, Freedom House, International Free World Association, League of Nations Association, United Nations Association, World Alliance for International Friendship Through the Churches, Non-Partisan Council to Win the Peace. It is very gratifying to have their representatives here at Lafayette, cooperating to develop the type of individual and collective thinking that is going to be necessary for all of us. I congratulate each one of these organizations and all of their members.

I have had the privilege of working with the members of various organizations for a great many years, and it is a great thing to have these organizations and others that are joining together, such as the United States Chamber of Commerce, National Association of Manufacturers, National Foreign Trade Council, and the American Section of the International Chamber of Commerce, which are sponsoring the International Business Conference at the Westchester Country Club at Rye, N. Y., from Nov. 10 to 18. We will have an attendance there of representative businessmen from more than 50 nations.

The cooperation and coordination of effort among these various groups will eventually bring about beneficial results.

We hear and read a great deal about the problem of the reconversion of industry from wartime to peacetime activities. I do not think there is any serious problem there, because, as an industrialist, I know how quickly American industry converted from our peacetime production to the manufacture of wartime products about which we knew nothing. We were able to do that without any unusual effort, and did not even consider it a problem. Therefore, it seems to me that



**MR. THOS. J. WATSON**

reconversion to the manufacture of the things that we know about and understand is going to be comparatively simple in most businesses.

I have given a great deal of thought to another type of reconversion, the reconversion of our thinking, our ideas and our ideals, so that we can be prepared to face the new world we must face after victory. It is going to be a world very different from anything that any of us ever has contemplated. I believe that is the kind of reconversion that will require all of our thoughts, efforts and talents to the fullest extent. Even with vision such as that of Dr. Lewis we cannot yet visualize fully what we will have to do in the way of reconverting ourselves, because we do not yet know what new type of thinking or what aims and ambitions of different countries must be fitted in and dealt with after victory.

I am giving a great deal of serious thought to the reconversion of my own thinking, and every day more things open up before me and make me realize that I must make greater adjustments in my thinking processes. In raising my sights, I must think along lines that I hope may be of some help in this new and changed world. Everything depends upon this reconversion job done by individuals.

As we make some individual progress toward our reconversion, we get together in meetings such as this one to exchange our views, our ideas and our changed thinking. If we will be really serious about this, very determined, and have plenty of courage, the combined effort of all of us will



bring about a program that can be agreed upon by all as being in the best interests not only of our country, but of all of the countries of the world.

I am asked to speak on "World Peace Through World Trade." I have talked on that subject many times, and I have worked for its accomplishment to the best of my ability with representatives of 40 countries during the period between the two wars. One of the things on which we all agreed was that in order to maintain peace we must bring about economic adjustments so as to have the proper flow of goods and services both ways across the borders of countries to eliminate the necessity of having soldiers march across those borders. The exchange of goods and services comes down to a very simple formula—an adjustment of trade barriers. I do not mean free trade, but a fair adjustment of trade barriers.

Secretary of State Cordell Hull set a good example and made a great step forward along that line through his Reciprocal Trade Agreements. If we will follow on, we can bring about steps now to prevent another war. We failed before, because we did not work fast enough or intelligently enough, but we did have the picture. Our trouble was that we could not get the political groups in various countries to agree with us, or to take as much interest in what we were doing and what we were proposing as we felt they should.

Now we are very happy to find ourselves in a position where both political parties here at home are agreed that there must be some proper kind of world organization after victory. I am sure that they are all going to think and work along the lines we are following in connection with the economic situation—on a basis just as fair to one country as to another.

The talents of the people, the quality of the soil, and the natural resources of the world are not evenly distributed. With that unequal distribution people in some parts of the world are able to produce certain things to better advantage than they can be produced in other parts. Where we have fallen down is that we have not been able to figure out a proper plan of distribution for these things on a fair basis.

I like the old motto "A fair deal cannot injure anyone," and it will help us if we keep that in mind.

World peace through world trade has been my motto for many years.

The unemployment problem is another thing we must think about, and we do think and talk about it a great deal. Nearly everybody who has been engaged in the war has made sacrifices. But the 11,000,000 men and women in our country's armed forces are the ones who are making the real sacrifices, and they are learning a great deal through them. They are willing to give up everything and risk their lives in order to protect this country of ours and to protect us on the home front.

Therefore, let us consider our obligation to all of those men and women when they come back, and let us try to the best of our ability to be prepared to give them jobs. That is all they want.

There is considerable talk about the problem we will have in the readjustment of the men who come back from the armed forces. I do not think we will have a problem there, except to adjust ourselves to the broad vision and outlook that those men and women will have in connection with our future new world, and the importance they will attach to a program for permanent peace.

I think we should think more about readjusting and re-converting our own minds, rather than worry about the boys and girls who are coming home from service to their country. Let us be prepared to meet their views and their outlook.

Most of us have had an opportunity to talk with men who have been right in the midst of the war, and we find that they have very fine, sound ideas regarding the new world.

There is going to be an employment readjustment period. But industry in this country, with true cooperation from our Government, will enable us to handle that situation. We are going to be called upon to catch up with all the shortages of peacetime products. Other countries are going to need things from us, and standards of living will be raised everywhere in the world, in some places more than in others. Our standards of living in the United States will be raised. Do not take stock in anyone who thinks that we are going to drop back to lower wage rates, because to do that would mean lowering our standards of living. That is something we plan never to do. If it ever should come about, it will be forced upon us through conditions with which we cannot cope. I do not believe that will ever happen to America, because we have met many difficult situations in the past and have carried through.

In our own country we have under-privileged people, and we are determined and are thinking and planning to bring up the standards of living of these people, as well as all other Americans. That is what has made us a great country and has enabled us, with only 6 per cent of the population of the world, to manufacture 47 per cent of everything manufactured in the world before the war.

In considering the importance of dealing with other countries on a fair and sound basis, I will talk about imports rather than exports. That is the thing I think about and talk about most in our country—the importance of imports. Because we are so highly industrialized we could not carry on and keep the wheels of our industries turning if we did not import large quantities of many different things from other countries. I will give you just one example. The Automobile Manufacturers Association has told us 68 different products are imported from 57 different countries to build the American automobile. And that American automobile goes to all parts of the world and is acknowledged as the best automobile in the world.

Unless we imported these important ingredients from all these different countries we would not be able to make the high percentage we do of all the automobiles manufactured and sell them all around the world. Let us keep in mind that we need things from other countries, and that in buying them we will enable other countries to buy from us. World trade must be a two-way street.

With all our past experience, with what we are going through now, and what the educational institutions are doing for us, I am sure that we are going to be able to meet the challenge.

I wrote an editorial a year ago and I have had several letters asking me to publish it again, which I have done. I will read it to you, because after victory there is going to be a great political problem, a great challenge particularly to the heads of the leading nations. That challenge will be to bring about the proper kind of settlement between the countries of the world.

We have had just cause to feel very bitter toward our enemies because they have gone beyond the bounds of civilized warfare, but revenge will be an unpopular word in

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# A Free Czechoslovakia in a Free Europe

HON. JOSEPH HANC

*Director, Czechoslovak Economic Service in the  
United States,*

*At Mass Meeting, Colton Memorial Chapel, Oct. 26.*

**I**N MARCH, 1939, when our country was invaded by the Nazis, Dr. Benes, who happened to be in Chicago on that day, asked a few of us to meet him in his hotel to talk about our future. It was the second time that we had lost our country, and we had to do something about it. We were trying to find some caption, some word, some phrase, which would best fit in with the spirit of our struggle for liberation, and we decided to use the phrase, "A Free Czechoslovakia in a Free Europe."

Since that time, we have had four or five years of war, and we are on the eve of realizing that ideal, even though we should remember that the end of the war is not yet imminent. Personally, I am a little skeptical about the end of the war this year, but there are a great many other people who are more optimistic. Of course, we do not know. What we know is what we read in the "New York Times" and some other papers which have correspondents on the spot, and we can make our own opinions.

We approach the period when we must seriously think of how best to serve this ideal of freedom in a free Europe. Of course, it has never occurred to us that we would like to have a freedom in which each country would do whatever it pleases. What we are trying to think out for ourselves is a freedom which would be organized both municipally and internationally; and my particular concern today is to talk about Czechoslovakia as one example of many other smaller nations from the point of view of the cooperation among the smaller countries and the major powers.

Probably at no other time has the problem of the future of the smaller nations attracted such popular attention as in these days. There are people, distinguished people, who believe that this is the end of the smaller countries; that there is no place for them, because they are simply not capable of defending themselves under the conditions of modern warfare. Indeed, when we go back a few years and realize that in three short years Hitler was able to invade and temporarily conquer 17 smaller neighbors of Germany, there is some matter for thought about the future of the smaller countries.

Some people who are in favor of the larger spaces, of larger units, believe that the smaller countries should be absorbed



HON. JOSEPH HANC

by the larger ones, peacefully, by persuasion, and those who refuse to be persuaded should be absorbed by coercion.

I have always wondered about it when I came across such views both in a certain part of the British public opinion and also at certain American colleges,—I happened to visit a few of them—and I always like to argue about this particular point. It is gratifying to see that the United Nations, as such, do not favor any such drastic course, and I am happy, as a member of a smaller country, to know that they are not going to remove us from the map of Europe.

We have seen that last year the great powers agreed at

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peacetime. I have tried to approach that problem from a different angle, because we cannot be soft in dealing with the enemy countries. I will read this short editorial, entitled "Justice versus Revenge."

"If a man commits murder and is tried, found guilty and put to death, that is not revenge; it is very severe punishment, but it is *just* punishment!

"Punishment to be just must be based on the enormity of the crime committed. After victory let us keep this thought in mind and devote all of our thoughts and efforts to justice—justice to all countries and all peoples who have undergone such inhuman treatment and terrible suffering as a result of the Axis powers' disregard of moral, civil, and international laws and decent human relations.

"Postwar justice will mean restoring devastated lands and buildings, refurnishing homes, rehabilitating individuals and families, providing permanent care for civilians and members of the armed forces who have been permanently disabled.

"To bring true justice to all these countries and people will mean very severe penalties to all who have participated in an organized effort to destroy the kind of civilization we are fighting to preserve, and will require of the Axis powers the physical effort and financial expenditure necessary to bring justice to all who have suffered as a result of their policies."

That is my formula for dealing with the enemy countries in the postwar period.



Moscow that Austria—a country of whose economic future a great many economists thought very little—is going to enjoy freedom in a free Europe.

This agreement in Moscow among the United States, England and Russia certainly indicates that the restitution of smaller countries is going to be one of the cornerstones of the future organization of Europe. At the same time, an agreement of that type revises the popular notion that there has been a steady trend among the nations to group themselves into larger units.

You know that in the last century the smaller states of Italy and of Germany did actually unite into larger units, but at the same time you had a contrary process, and large empires like the Turkish Empire or the Austro-Hungarian monarchy demonstrated the opposite tendency to disintegrate into smaller countries. Thus both these tendencies came into play at various times and in various areas. The result is that we have never had, and we are not likely to have, a world which would consist exclusively of only one category of nations. In fact, it is very hard to draw a line. Would you call, let us say, the Netherlands a small country, with 70,000,000 people in the Dutch East Indies, or Belgium, with the Belgian Congo, or even Czechoslovakia which exported more steel than one of the five large countries, namely, Italy?

It is very hard to draw a distinct line of demarcation between where the smaller countries stop and the large ones start.

In Europe we have had four great powers. I do not include the Soviet Union, because the Soviet Union is a continent by itself. Now we are absolutely certain to have one great power. We are going to have Great Britain. We are trying to help France to become again one of the great powers. Then we shall have two great powers, and all the other 28 countries will be, at least for a considerable period to come, smaller, middle-sized, or little nations. Therefore, the problem of how small countries will be fitted into a framework of world organization is a very vital one.

I am sure that no country really is of the right size, of the right wealth, the right power. A country is either too big or too small, or not big enough or not small enough. They are all wrong. But, somehow, we like what we are, don't we? We like to be just what we are, with all these deficiencies, because, after all, we do not create a country over night. It is a combination, a result of a great many forces—history, tradition, struggle for freedom, and political expediency, et cetera. So we like our countries as they are, no matter whether they put us in a category of small, middle-sized or big ones.

The important thing is to realize, however, that each country represents a living social organism, and that that living social organism, whether big or small, is a very difficult thing with which to deal. As you know, human beings are the most intractable of materials. They cannot be bent like metal, and they cannot be experimented with in the same manner in which a chemical engineer experiments with plastic works, for instance. Rivalries are likely to persist after this war, and the problem of coexistence will become much more difficult, urgent, and more complex than it ever was. Only wishful thinkers can afford to indulge in the illusion that all of a sudden, through some miraculous intuition, international clashes of interest will discontinue and we shall live in a perfect harmony.

Practical statesmanship cannot count with such a future. A practical statesman must attend to the very unpopular but absolutely necessary job of removing some of the areas of friction and thus eliminate at least some of the incentives to war.

I want to refer very briefly to the economic incentives to

war. In other words, I would like to say a few words about economic cooperation as used by a small country like ours. I believe that such cooperation must bring the barriers, national and regional structures, more in line with one another. Because of the differences, as Mr. Watson has so brilliantly said here a minute ago, of geography, climate, natural resources, temperaments, and general economic and industrial development, the different economic systems in the different parts of this whole world cannot be made mechanically alike. Some of those differences are rooted in natural conditions, in the inequality of the division of many factors of production, such as raw materials, labor—especially skilled labor—capital and organizational tradition, while others have been accumulated in the course of long and unequal political and economic evolution. A continued effort must, therefore, be undertaken to alleviate some of these natural or man-made differences.

It is particularly in the field of economy that the argument against small countries gains some popularity. It is interesting to me that I have never noticed it in the United States, and I am a great admirer of this country. After all, I have been here 10 years, and my sons are a part of this country. I could not adjust myself quickly. When you are old, it is very hard to do it. But I have never heard in this country anything against the smaller nations in Central America or South America. But, whenever we discussed at college or elsewhere the future of small nations, everybody automatically thought of our own country or these little countries in Central and Eastern Europe. These criticisms have never been leveled against the Western European smaller nations, but always against the relatively new countries—even though the nations and peoples are very old—living east of the Rhine, say, around Germany, between Russia and Germany.

To my mind—and this is no reflection on the intelligence of the American public opinion—much of these thoughts have been the result of the propaganda carried on in this country by Germany. Prior to the Nazis it was carried out by a great many German scholars and, later, when the Nazis came, by Nazi agents.

Very few Americans—I am happy to say that all the gentlemen who are with me on the platform are from the opposite camp—have learned, for instance, about Czechoslovakia directly from original sources. It was usually through the German channels. I include the Poles, the Russians, the Yugoslavs and the Czechs—all of these people are in the same category. Very little has been known about us from original sources. Usually it was the German science and German learning which had interpreted us to the Anglo-Saxon world, and with neither great success nor great justice to us.

I wish I had the time here to produce conclusive evidence that some of these attacks against these little-known countries east of the Rhine are not justified or, at least, are exaggerated. For instance, people said that during the inter-war period we have built a great many new industries and that, after having built those new industries, we are surrounding our little countries with high tariff walls; that we have, therefore, hampered international trade. Well, I admit that, from the point of view of international cooperation, justifiable grievances should be felt against any country which, by a narrow nationalistic policy, hinders the flow of goods and services, or which fails to exploit its resources owing to lack of capital or experience, or which by its policy, by its legislature, prevents all capable nations from doing so in cooperation with the country in question. It would be unjust, however, to single out any of those smaller countries as the principal culprits. In most cases, the industrialization of these countries became a necessity for the purpose of relieving the population pressure.

Do not forget, Czechoslovakia is a small country of 54,000



square miles, and we have 15,000,000 people living there.

Another problem is to find employment for this surplus rural population, in order to exploit local national resources, especially agriculture. We have a great amount of agricultural industries. The same thing will have to be done in Yugoslavia, Rumania and Poland. They have natural raw materials in their soil, and we have to develop them. Some of the new industries were uneconomic if measured by the standards of older industrialist countries, but it was a question for us of sink or swim. While raising the employment at home, the industrialization did not bring about any contraction of international trade. The blame for raising high tariffs must be laid squarely upon the shoulders of most countries.

We all sinned against common sense, the United States included, and some larger states were even greater sinners than the small ones. On the whole, major economic disturbances resulted from the restrictive economic policies of the great powers, or—let us put it in a better way—the great producing and consuming nations or areas, rather than from smaller countries, because, after all, these smaller countries have only a very limited share in the world economy.

I can point out Germany, seeking more "lebensraum" by discriminatory restrictions and finally by force, but it is too common an example to require any comment. Otherwise, no special obstacles were introduced by our smaller nations in Europe which would make it impossible, let us say, for the nationals of the United States or any other greater and old-established country to place investments within our territories, or to trade with us on the basis of equal rights.

Our country had a reciprocal trade treaty with the United States which, unfortunately, was of very short duration on account of temporary extinction of Czechoslovakia, but we hope one of the first things after this war will be the revision, probably, and the resumption of that reciprocal trade treaty with the United States in one form or another.

In fact, world trade in general has not suffered from any maladjustments which could be ascribed exclusively to the existence or to the policies of small countries. I do not want to go into figures, but I believe, as the result of an honest research, that in many instances the trading interests of larger countries have gained appreciably from the creation of these five or six so-called new states in Eastern Europe.

What really is the purpose of this international cooperation? I believe that the ultimate objective must be to create by joint effort a world in which all productive power is employed fully and efficiently so that the people everywhere can obtain the highest degree of economic satisfaction. I know this is a highly remote ideal which probably can never be reached, at least not within our own lifetime, but we must and we can approach it by pursuing a policy which will increase the purchasing power of the consuming masses, especially of the masses of Europe, so as to bring it closer to the consuming capacity of the purchasing public. The consuming capacity includes not only the things which we actually buy, but also the things which we would like to buy if we had money to pay for them. I can assure you there are more potential goods and services we would like to buy in Europe than those we have been actually buying, if we could afford to do it.

This potential ability of people to use goods and services, both known and those to be discovered later, represents the most elemental and dynamic force in world economy. It opens up almost unlimited possibilities of expansion and progress. However, unless this increasing purchasing power is spread more evenly in an organized way among the various areas and nations, the gap between the unredeemed and the effective consuming capacity will be kept wide open, with all the disturbing consequences to follow.

Regions of different productivity and disproportionate standards of living can no longer coexist side by side without provoking great international crises. The crux of the problem, of course, is not how to create equality in poverty, but how to bring the prospect of social rise to these masses of people in Central and Eastern Europe, who are willing to work. They are a hard-working folk.

Of course, this is something which cannot be brought about unconsciously. I do not think that we can go on repeating the old slogan, "Live and let live." That does not bring us very far. Suppose I am a young, enterprising business man, and the community in which I live does not do any harm to me. They just live in their own way and they let me live in my own way. Now, I want to start a business, but, all of a sudden, I discover I cannot get the patent, or there is a carte against me. They say, "Well, we live and we will let you live." But how?

I think we should modify that slogan and say, "Live and help the other people live." Otherwise, we would not get very far.

I do not propose today to discuss the various methods of economic cooperation. Let me just mention two things: For instance, the UNRRA organization. We have in Europe 60,000,000 people medically destitute, people who urgently need medical aid. In our own country, every tenth Czech has been displaced. He does not live in his own country. He does not live in his own community. He lives in Germany or somewhere else. It is as though 30 or 40 million citizens of the United States were suddenly transported beyond the borders of the United States. That is a problem our country is facing. We have 20,000,000 such people in Europe who have been displaced against their will. These are two examples of the work which cannot be solved nationally. We need international cooperation and UNRRA is going to attend to it.

In our country for the last five years we have never had a new doctor. For the five years our universities were closed by the Germans we had no graduates at our medical colleges. It means we are short by 5,000 doctors. Now we have to wait another five years. We shall have no doctors—I mean no young people as doctors—in a period of 10 years. We have news from our country that 60 per cent of our medical personnel has been wiped out by the Germans, and there are large regions—I speak of the region which is already liberated by the Red Army in the East section of the country—where we have no doctors whatsoever. Therefore we have asked the United States and UNRRA to send us some medical aid.

You cannot very well solve these things nationally. It does not mean that if we do not get that help through international channels we shall die; of course, we shall live. But the process of readjustment and of rehabilitation will be less expeditious; it will take much longer, and it will be to the detriment not only for our own people but of our neighbors and eventually also of the great powers, and I include the United States among them.

We want to have an orderly freedom, an orderly cooperative world.

Let us take another institution. We have set up the Organization on Food and Agriculture. Again, two out of three inhabitants of this earth have never eaten enough in their lives, and two-thirds of those who have had something to eat had to eat the wrong things. That means we are very much backward in knowledge of food.

The food organization is going to be set up as one of those agencies or those specific functional agencies which attend to this problem. We have the International Credit Institution; we have the Monetary Fund; and our country and the smaller countries would like to have many more such coop-

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# The Religious Imperatives For a New World

DR. WILLIAM P. MERRILL

*President, The Church Peace Union,  
At Mass Meeting, Colton Memorial Chapel, Oct. 26.*

AS ONE of the few surviving charter members of the Church Peace Union and of the World Alliance for International Friendship, two movements that are particularly interested in institutes like this, I want to say just a word of appreciation to Lafayette College for giving us this privilege of holding the institute here.

I am asked to speak on "The Religious Imperative for a New World." That word "imperative" is a tremendous word. We do not often associate it with religion; not enough. We too easily take our religion as a kind of sedative, sort of a spiritual hot water bottle, to be used when we are feeling bad; a place of refuge, or a hope for the distant future when we have to leave this earth. We rest our faith in our religion when we ought to be devoting our faith to it.

Once, at a conference of religious bodies, a man said something that has stayed in my mind ever since. He said, "We hear a lot about religious differences, but the worst thing is religious indifference." I wonder if there is one of us here whose conscience can rest easily hearing that statement.

This poor, needy, struggling world would find a new strength, a fresh hope, if all who profess to believe in God should begin to "live by their faith," putting into practice the great ideals of our religion. There is one great essential of the lasting success of any attempt to build a new and right world order. However wisely planned, strongly established, and widely accepted any new world plan may be, it will fail, unless back of it and all through it is a widespread and steadfast spirit of righteousness, goodwill and unselfish devotion to the common welfare. And the only source for such a spirit is true religion—what Jesus described in the words, "religion in spirit and reality."

In attempting to set forth the religious imperative for a new world, I shall not presume to express my personal views, or those of any group or party. In view of the near approach to election day it may be wise for me to say, in the phrase used so much by radio commentators, that any seeming reference to immediate party issues or personalities will be purely coincidental.

What I shall try to do is to turn to the accepted basis of our faith, this book we call the Bible. All of us—Catholic, Jew and Protestant—turn to that volume for inspiration and true guidance. Not the inspiration on which some strenuously insist, the cold inerrancy of the multiplication table; inspiration rather like that of true poetry and music. We do not call Bach's fugues or Beethoven's symphonies "inspired" because there are no errors in the original manuscripts, but because of their glowing and lasting loveliness and appeal. It is good to believe that the Bible is inspired; but it is even better to discover that it is inspiring.

It may sound old-fashioned when I say that one great need of our time is fresh study of the Bible. It is amazing how clear and illuminating are the words of prophets and apostles, and most of all of that man Jesus. They fit into



REV. WILLIAM P. MERRILL, D.D.

the needs of our day and of the days ahead in a marvelous way.

Take a single instance. There is one Psalm, written some 2,500 years ago, which sets forth an ideal of the world order we need and should strive for, that corresponds amazingly with the ideal set forth in the Pattern for Peace—the document issued a year ago by 150 leaders of our three major religious bodies, Catholic, Jew and Protestant. The Psalm predicts a world that is one, "to the ends of the earth," including "all nations." It is to be based on "righteousness and judgment," that is, in modern terms, legal and social justice. It will care especially for the poor and needy, with particular attention to the children. It will endure "as long as the sun and moon" and bring "abundance of peace." It will secure world-wide economic prosperity, in country and city. And all this will come because of God, "who alone doeth wondrous things." Think of it! Twenty-five centuries ago! Cannot we learn?

Here, in this basic book of our faith, we discern four great imperatives for a right and lasting world order. They are the absolute essentials.

There is not a shadow of doubt as to which should come first. The fundamental basis of right world order is righteousness. That we must maintain at any cost.

Here Hebrew prophets and Christian leaders are in absolute accord. Righteousness is the foundation of all our



building, the root of all our production. "The fruit of righteousness shall be peace."

Amos, pioneer man of God, set that in clear terms. His words come down through the 27 centuries, with the ring of present and eternal truth: "Ye who leave off righteousness in the earth, seek good, and not evil, that ye may live. For the eyes of the Lord are upon the sinful nation, and I will destroy it from off the face of the earth."

How forcefully does Isaiah work out this theme: "To what purpose is the multitude of your sacrifices unto me, saith the Lord. Cease to do evil, learn to do well. Open the gates, that the righteous nation that keepeth truth may enter in."

Jesus emphasized this basic element of righteousness as strongly as did any Old Testament prophet. Among those he counted "blessed" are the ones who "hunger and thirst after righteousness, and are willing to be persecuted for its sake." The summing up of his great Sermon on the Mount is in the command, "Seek ye first the Kingdom of God and His righteousness." That, He says, is the absolute condition of our finding that economic security which all of us desire. "All these things shall be added unto you"—and that "you" is plural—only when all of us do right and stand for the right, at any cost.

Righteousness is the first and basic religious imperative. If that goes, everything goes.

This principle gives impetus to our effort to win the war. If this were a conflict between rival imperialisms, or for national advantage, we might well doubt our right as religious believers to have any part in it. Of course, there are serious matters of national interest deeply involved in this struggle. But the main issue is clearly marked by the utterly unrighteous conduct of the Axis Powers. Broken promises, colossal treachery, inhuman cruelty, invasion and oppression of neutral and innocent countries, cynical disregard of ordinary standards of decency, mark this as a struggle for and against great principles of righteousness. In so far as this is a war against such policies and those who hold them, it is a right and just struggle, and to a dreadful extent it is just that.

But we must never forget that there is another side to all this. We have not been right; we have to bear part of the blame for this world catastrophe. And we must be as sternly resolved to end our unrighteous ways and acts as to put an end to those perpetrated by others. While remembering Pearl Harbor, let us not forget our insolent Exclusion Act; while severely condemning the German treatment of Jews, let us repent of our own bad conduct in racial discrimination; over against the breaking of the peace we must set our failure to stand by the agencies of peace. Concentrate on winning the war, yes; but in the name of the God of righteousness, let us never forget the necessity that we change our ways and correct our unjust policies.

If we should win the war only to put America on top, to install any form of imperialism, we should deserve to be set alongside our enemies in the dock before the judgment seat of the all-righteous God. Righteousness must always come first.

Now that means more than the will to do what we think is right. We must have clear knowledge of what is right. We must have the determination to do what Isaiah so well calls "learning righteousness."

It means something when men and nations set themselves to do what they think is right. But that is not enough. History furnishes painful examples of evil done by men and groups fanatically certain that they were right. "By the light of burning heretics Christ's bleeding feet I track"—inhumanity perpetrated by men honestly convinced that

they were doing God service. James Russell Lowell well reminds us,

"There's nothing we read of in torture's inventions

"Like a well-meaning fool, with the best of intentions.

Jesus emphasizes this need of right knowledge as a basis for right action when he says, "If ye know these things blessed are ye if ye do them." To know and not do is shameful. But to do without knowing is dangerous.

Take a lesson from that book of Isaiah that Jesus loved so well and used so much. He says that what is most needed is that men shall learn righteousness. Is not that all-important? What is the most serious element in the dangerous situation in Germany? Twisted education, warped instincts and ideals about right and wrong among children and youth. Is not one serious weakness in our own national life the lack of character training? Men must learn righteousness, if things are ever to be right. It heartened me to hear the President of one of our leading universities, in an address on "Education for Democracy" say, "No education is complete in a democracy which does not before it is finished, give to the student a sense of fellowship with God." We need that sort of thing.

Here then is the first religious imperative: righteousness. Let a man or a nation flout that, and judgment follows.

Tied closely in with this is a second imperative: that we set the true welfare of children and youth high among our policies and motives.

Here something that is very real in the teachings of Isaiah shines brightly in the words of Jesus. He said once that a certain kind of man deserved to have a huge stone tied around his neck and be thrown into the depths of the sea. And that terrible judgment was upon a man who had injured in any way a little child. Dr. G. Stanley Hall was but giving modern form to the judgment of Jesus when he wrote, "If there be a sin against the Holy Ghost, it is the sin of thwarting in any way the promise of youth."

The relation of child-nurture to peace is beautifully put by Isaiah in one of the greatest passages of that superb book: "All thy children shall be taught of the Lord; and great shall be the peace of thy children; and in righteousness shalt thou be established. Thou shalt be far from oppression, for thou shalt not fear; and from terror, for it shall not come nigh thee."

How that fits our time! We want a world free from oppression and terror, tyranny and anarchy. We can be safe against these two extremes only as we are "established in righteousness." Then "great shall be our peace." And that can and will come only as "all our children are taught of the Lord."

I recall what an earnest young man said who had just returned from the war zone in the former wartime: "I care a lot for a world safe for democracy; but I care a whole lot more for a world safe for little children." That young man was not far from the Kingdom of God.

A third great religious imperative is human service. Here again Old and New Testaments at their best are at one. It suffices to take a single illustration—one of Jesus' greatest pictures, the opening of which he took from an earlier Hebrew writing. It is his one dramatic picture of the final judgment. You recall it, I am sure: The Son of Man as Judge. The nations on trial before him—note the word "nations" in that connection. What is it that separates the sheep from the goats, the condemned from the blessed? Orthodoxy? Church attendance? No. Just one thing: service of human beings in need. Set with this the only picture Jesus ever drew of a man in hell. What had he done? We know only that he had not done anything for the sick man at his door.

What about our world now, and in the time ahead? What



frightful, pitiful need! People hungry, starving, sick, wounded, in prison, neglected and maltreated. What will be the judgment upon the German leaders, responsible for so much of this?

But what about us? Are we doing all we can? Will we be ready to do our utmost, willing to deny ourselves that others may be saved? There is much that we can do now. And there will be very much more that can be done when the war ends. Here is a great religious imperative. Let me quote a question from the Bible: "He that hath this world's goods, and seeth his brother in need, and shutteth up his heart of compassion from him, how dwelleth the love of God in him?"

The fourth religious imperative is in a way the most important of all. It is the doing of all we can to bring nearer the Kingdom of God. That meant much to the greatest of the Old Testament prophets. It meant more to Jesus than anything else. Listen to some fervent evangelist, and you will think Jesus' main concern was for individual salvation. Listen to some High Churchman, and you will think that Jesus' main concern was for the church. But, in the Gospels Jesus speaks of "salvation" or being "saved" less than a dozen times. He speaks of the church only three times. But He speaks of the Kingdom of God more than 120 times. And always it is something "at hand," right here, if only we would all join in seeking it; close at hand, if only our hands were strong enough and clean enough to grasp it.

What did he mean by that phrase, "The Kingdom of God"? Some in his day meant by it the supremacy of Israel over all the world. Jesus never meant that. Some Christians have said it means the church. But the Kingdom of God is no more the church than a scaffolding is the building. Some have thought it meant heaven, the future home of the soul. But Jesus said it was to be here. Others have said that it means the coming back of Jesus in physical form to carry out the will of God. But Jesus said that some of his disciples should see it coming. Nineteen hundred years have passed, and still He has not come back.

More and more the sanest scholars have come to see that Jesus means something like this: all human life organized on a family basis—God, Father of all, men all brothers, "one great fellowship of love throughout the whole wide earth." No discrimination; all one household of God.

That was Jesus' ideal. And therefore it must be the one aim of all Christians. Thank God, it finds some expression in our national ideals, our Declaration, our Bill of Rights. It has real though vague expression in the Atlantic Charter. But we must make it more positive and clear. We must insist upon keeping relations with the United Nations until that grows into a United World. That sturdy, honest and true servant of God and man, whose sudden death shocked us recently, voiced the central faith of the prophets and Jesus, when he called his book, "One World." That is what we must have. Only so can we find "righteousness, peace and joy," which is Paul's definition of the Kingdom of God.

Here, then, are four main elements of our religious imperative: Righteousness, care of children, service of human need, and seeking first the Kingdom of God.

You may ask, "What can I do about all this?" For answer I turn to another challenging ideal set forth in this wonderful book of ours. Written at a time when hope was faintly dawning on a people for nearly a century oppressed, exiled, broken, it shows the kind of servant God needs for the making of a right and good world.

"Behold my servant whom I have chosen. I will put my spirit upon him. He shall bring forth justice to the nations. He will not cry, nor lift up his voice, nor cause it to be heard in the street. A bruised reed he will not break and the dimly-burning wick he will not quench; he shall bring forth justice unto victory. He will not fail nor be discouraged till he have set justice in the earth."

That is the kind of nation, the kind of church, the kind of individual that alone can make the world what God wants it to be. Indomitable, never giving up; working, not just dreaming or talking; practical, using the means at hand, however poor they be; determined to set things right at any cost.

Each of us who has any religious faith at all is called of God now to play that part of the servant of the Lord. If every one of us in this room will go out and devote himself to this great ideal of a world, one great family, do his utmost to enlist others in that supreme cause, identify himself with the best agency he can find, try to make his church forget all petty details and concentrate on the great imperatives of our faith, something will happen. It is so easy to say, "What can I do? An individual is so small, so insignificant." But if enough individuals hear and heed the great imperatives, no one can predict the immense result that will come.

Some years ago, when a heavy snowstorm crushed the roof of a theatre in Washington, killing many people, an eloquent speaker said, "What an insignificant thing is a snowflake; but let enough of them get together and they can crush a steel roof."

We Christians can never forget that once there was a human life which, as has been nobly said, "in three short years changed the whole course of human history." That man Jesus was God's proof of what an individual can do. He would not fail nor be discouraged, though he stood alone against the world. And while, to ordinary onlookers, he seemed a tragic failure, the world knows now that His life was and is the most triumphant of all lives. Crucified and rejected again and again, but rising every time and going on.

He is calling us today, as long ago He called the men from Galilee to follow Him in undaunted faith, and unlimited loyalty, and readiness to use whatever means are at hand, in working toward that glorious aim that was always shining before him, "All mankind one family of God the whole world over." Still He calls, "Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the sons of God."

"The nations from East to West have heard a cry;

"Throughout earth's blood-red generations,

"By hate and slaughter climbed thus high;

"Here on this height still to aspire,

"Only one path remains untrod;

"One path of love and peace climbs higher,

"Make straight that highway for our God."



# Building the House of a Better America

MR. ERIC A. JOHNSTON

*President, Chamber of Commerce of the United States,  
At Founders' Day Convocation, Colton Memorial  
Chapel, Oct. 27.*

**T**O FACE this audience of scholars is to face the future, for you are the future. You hold the key to its wonders. The past has left a store of experience and knowledge. You are the experts who must assay and preserve this priceless heritage of achievements. The knowledge you thus gain will be invaluable to a generation which must build the house of a better America.

If we are going to build the house of a better America, we must have an ideal. That ideal must be translated into a blueprint, and the blueprint can become a mansion only through tenacious, tireless toil.

But what is our ideal of the better house of America? Will it be surrounded by a high wall; will there be steel bars at the windows; will life within be regimented? Or will its doors open up to the rolling needs of rich opportunities; will its windows view broadened horizons; will its life within be stimulated under the traditional American patterns? In other words, will this house be a prison or a mansion? It depends upon all of us, but particularly upon you in the field of education.

Let us start at the beginning. In America education has been the highway for expanding social understanding, for higher moral concepts, for a freer, a more unfettered democracy. Our educational establishment has grown and expanded through experimentation.

In this educational establishment, Lafayette occupies an unusual position. It was founded about the time our nation began to realize that it was embarked upon a tremendously adventuresome career. The Legislature of Pennsylvania granted its charter a year after the Marquis de Lafayette sailed from America for the last time. Then modern science was chewing on its teething ring; today it is a husky giant about to step across the threshold of astonishing scientific developments. As the field of human knowledge is broadened, man's responsibilities increase. He who controls the mysteries of radio has a far deeper responsibility than his forebears who knew only the usefulness of the lightning rod.

Men of learning knew that victory over the Axis will be a signal flare for the introduction to the world of a thousand scientific and mechanical discoveries. The student of today is entering a new realm of miracles—a realm which can be explored adequately and explored successfully only in a society that is free.

That is where you in the realm of education come in. Are you going to use your broadened powers and increased knowledge to keep this society free? History is the record of men who have bled and suffered and died for freedom. Everywhere we see the ebb and flow of man's struggle to free himself from arbitrary power. Millions of people, many of them inarticulate, have flocked to America to make their way out of the shadows of servitude into the light of freedom—freedom from political or economic domination—freedom to choose their own destiny in their own way.

After the scowl of war has been wiped off the face of the world, we will see an intensification of this Titanic struggle; a conflict between collectivization and individualism; a conflict between the State and the individual; a conflict between autocracy and democracy. Everywhere the tide is



MR. ERIC A. JOHNSTON

running strongly to government domination, government control, government ownership. All around the world men are uncertain, confused, frightened. They want to throw their problems into the lap of government. This very genius of government which, throughout the ages, they have so bitterly fought, they now seem willing to abandon, and to consign their economic freedom to the State.

What is the trend in the world around us today?

In Russia we find the most collectivized state, and one determined to remain so. In Russia there is only one employer—the State. In America there are millions of employers. In Russia, if a worker gets "in Dutch" with his boss, he is out of luck. In America, if a worker gets "in Dutch" with his boss, he goes around the corner and gets another job. Can you have complete economic freedom in the American sense when there is only one employer? The Russian said, "Yes." In Russia, I said, "No."

In England the rising tide of collectivism is creeping higher up the piers of free enterprise. Many business men believe that it is unsafe to conduct their affairs except through monopolies and cartels. They want the umbrella of official government protection held over the least efficient producers. The axiom in America that lower costs make for higher employment, a higher standard of living and greater national welfare, seems to be ignored. The Labor Party in England, which may come into power at the next election, already has called for the nationalization of the railroads, of the mines, of the public utilities—yes, even of all the land itself. Does history indicate that the cold, clammy hand of



government ownership has ever increased scientific development or economic opportunities for man? The British told me, "Yes." In England, I said, "No."

In many of the liberated countries, the widening authority of government is narrowing the opportunities for man, because the economic vitality has been sapped by years of warfare. Man, wearied by these years of conflict, is seeking an easy way out.

In France, General Charles de Gaulle recently outlined an economic program for his country: one-third of all industry is to be owned by the government; one-third is to be privately owned; and one-third is to be an insipid concoction called "half-and-half." This constant reliance upon government may help a sick economy to totter around, but the grueling race to individual freedom has never been won by running on the wooden legs of any super-State. Can we have the maximum freedom of movement with artificial assistance? The liberated countries seem to say, "Yes." In reply, I would say, "No."

This epochal contest between the State and the individual cannot be determined by party labels or regional or geographic lines. It is not a vertical contest but a horizontal one. It is not a struggle between nations, but rather within every nation, every community, every social group. In a broader sense, it is a struggle within every individual's mind.

The question each of us must answer is, are we going to follow the new-fashioned liberal whose flaming banners proclaim, "Man belongs to the State; the State will protect him and employ him for the benefit of the State?" Or shall we follow the old-fashioned Jeffersonian liberal whose blazing banner proclaims, "The State is but the servant of man, to be used by man for his greater achievements and for his greater freedom?"

Education must provide us with the final answer, for it is only through education that we can find truth, and it is only through truth that we may achieve real freedom—a freedom that displays a robust sense of right and wrong. It is only through truth that we can achieve respect for individual human beings, and a pattern for the simple, and therefore neglected, virtues of every-day life.

From the earliest days of the Republic, the super-State in any disguise has been the antithesis of American democratic concepts. Our forebears knew the dangers of the super-State. Officials, by virtue of titles or impressive powers, do not become more than mortal. These officials avoid neither the errors of judgment nor the selfish temptations of men in private undertakings. Man is not miraculously transformed by assuming public office. The bureaucracy of bureaucrats carrying out some economic task is neither wiser nor better than you and I performing the same job for ourselves. He is simply more irresponsible; the mistakes are on the house.

What our forefathers knew then is equally true today, but with this added danger: the tyrants of old never dreamed of the power which new technological processes have given the State for enforcement of its edicts. The printing press, radio and television can be used to hold the mind of man in absolute subjugation. Hitler could never have risen to power without these modern devices. His absolute control of all means of communication enabled him to pervert and poison the minds of the German people. Their minds were held in this absolute power because untruth was made to look like truth; the lie masqueraded in the garments of fact. Free-

dom—whether of movement, action or decision—having been completely banished from the land, there was no one to prevent the steel doors of the dungeon from closing upon the people.

In America, therefore, education has a tremendous responsibility not only for teaching the people, but for teaching them to be free.

The oppressors of freedom in every land have always begun under the assumption that they were benefitting the great mass of the people. Their first acts seemed to be good. Their first edicts were proclamations of good. Undoubtedly there were many of the followers of this program who felt that this was the only way out of their difficulties. For instance, we have heard it said that Mussolini was good for Italy because he made the railroad trains run on time; Hitler was said to be good for Germany because he cured unemployment.

Our problem after this war will appear mountainous. The difficulties will be extremely hard to solve. There will be many who will say that we cannot possibly solve our problems under the democratic process; that the judgment of the few is better than the judgment of the many. These people will prescribe the hypodermic injection of false hope without warning that it will be followed by a dose of laudanum to lull the people into slavery—a slavery which many will welcome even as their chains are being fastened. Such apparent benefits will strip every American of what the late Mr. Justice Brandeis said was the right to be left alone—the most comprehensive of all rights, and therefore the right most sought after, of civilized man.

We in America have prospered magnificently over and above any other nation in the history of the world because we have given the urge to freedom free play. Our justification for members of society has been found in the humble virtues of honest endeavor, conscientious self-advancement and a clear conscience. We have judged people not from the line at which they started the race, but rather at the line at which they finished the race. We have glorified equality—not the drab equality of sameness, but the equality of opportunity.

As a nation, we have never regarded democracy as an artificial process for leveling downward, but rather as a framework within which each individual might develop himself to the best of his own abilities, not only for himself, but for the nation as a whole.

This is the only way of accounting for our magnificent progress, which, measured by any yardstick, whether it be industrial output, trained employes, scientific research, or developed natural resources, cannot be equalled by any nation in the history of the world. Education will never doubt that this mighty nation—richer than any on the face of the globe—will fail to solve its problems under the democratic processes. In order to accomplish this, education must assist in producing enlightened leadership in business, labor, agriculture and government. It is through education that we can understand that what is best for all of our people is best, too, for each group.

On this wholly American path our nation can advance, buttressed by our strength, our wealth and our restless energy to be more productive and more happy. But an absolute prerequisite of this success and progress is an educational system which seeks the truth, free from any taint of totalitarian domination. Such an educational system will be the lifeblood flowing through the arteries of a vigorous, a healthy, and, above all, a truly free America.





*College officials and recipients of honorary degrees at Lafayette College Founders' Day Convocation Oct. 27 are, left to right: Dr. William Mather Lewis, President, Lafayette College; Mr. Eric A. Johnston, President, United States Chamber of Commerce, who delivered convocation address, Doctor of Laws; Mr. Thos. J. Watson, Vice President, Board of Trustees, Lafayette College, and President, International Business Machines Corporation; Rev. Ralph Blake Hindman, pastor, First Presbyterian Church, Buffalo, N. Y., Doctor of Divinity; Dr. Lewis Hill Weed, Director, School of Medicine, Johns Hopkins University, Doctor of Science; Dr. James Burns Amberson, Professor of Medicine, College of Physicians and Surgeons, Columbia University, Doctor of Science. Inset, Hon. William Huntington Kirkpatrick, United States District Judge, Eastern District of Pennsylvania, and President of Board of Trustees, Lafayette College, Doctor of Laws.*

## A Free Czechoslovakia in a Free Europe

(Continued from page 30)

erative functional agencies. For instance, we would like to have something which would solve the problem of international cartels, international commodity agreements or tariff policies, and so on, and we understand that great minds in the United States are occupied with this problem.

My lecture was supposed to be on Czechoslovakia, but I think that it helps my country much better if I speak less of Czechoslovakia and more of the general problems which are common to all those countries finding themselves in an analogous position.

You know that our country in the last 30 years twice has disappeared, and we have twice reappeared. No one of you can realize, can understand it. You created the United States 150 years ago. You have it, you are going to have it, and nobody is going to do any harm to it. But we had no free country in 1914. We have fought it out. We had it in 1918. We had it for 20 years, and then we lost it. Now we are going to have it for the second time.

I do not know whether it is an easy matter for a citizen of a great country, comparatively safe, to put himself into the mental position of myself, for instance. We are filled with more anxiety about the future of humanity. We think much more seriously about these things, because our destiny, our future, is too closely tied up with what the great powers do.

Let me mention as an example the international security problem, which had been discussed in Washington for the last three months. I mean the international security organization already referred to on more than one occasion at this insti-

tute. I hear and I read in the American press that some people are apprehensive lest that institution would violate the rights of smaller countries. Well, if I put myself back to the Munich period, of course, such apprehensions are justified. Four great powers—and please, I do not want to re-criminate, but as an institute here, we can talk about these things with detachment, without passion—four great powers united and dictated a kind of solution on a small country.

Of course, we hope that this international security scheme proposal is not going to be something like that. We are sure. We are not afraid. We know it is going to be different. We know very well that the great powers will use their responsibilities and their privileges justly and with impartiality. We shall have six out of 11 votes on the security council which I think will be an instrument through which small nations will be able to make themselves heard in the councils of the world. Well, our country, Czechoslovakia, has tried to practice public and private virtues as fully as any other large or small nation. We have been cooperative to the point of extinction in 1938. I do not know of any other country which would go to that extreme to cooperate with the other nations.

Let me, therefore, conclude with the assurance that, as an industrial nation keenly interested in the expansion of its economy, our country will support every constructive initiative for the closest possible integration—and when I say “integration” I do not mean any enforced regimentation—I mean a voluntary organized integration of work economy. We have always pursued a cooperative policy both of necessity, of course, as a small country, and also by preference.



# Greece and Postwar Europe

HON. ANDRE MICHALOPOULOS,

*Former Greek Minister of Information; President, Anglo Hellenic League, at Mass Meeting, Colton Memorial Chapel, Oct. 26.*

I GET up with a certain amount of diffidence because I am not given to blushing, but the very courteous remarks of welcome which I have heard from your President as well as these flowers have put me into a state of the greatest diffidence, if they have not suffused my cheeks with blushes.

However, I would like to say that I am very happy indeed to be here today. It is a great privilege and it is a source of great satisfaction and pleasure to me because you have been engaged in the past two days in very important work and it is very interesting to see—and I thoroughly agree with the distinguished speaker who preceded me—that all over America the people are thinking about problems of peace.

I, too, have been around America. I have been to forty-six of your States. I visited, I think, 173 of your cities and spoke in them. I have come in contact with the American people and I see that there is everywhere the most lively interest in what is going on in the world and in the future of the world. That is of the greatest encouragement to us in Europe.

Well, ladies and gentlemen, I do not know whether you will agree with me, but I think that anyone who thinks that this terrible war, which has ravaged so great a part of the world and which has left no nation unaffected, is just an isolated incident which began in 1939 and will end whenever the belligerents lay down their arms—and we hope it will be soon—is, I believe, mistaken—gravely mistaken.

This is no isolated incident. It is no single war which just began then and is about to end. It is, I venture to say, in its western phase, a part of Germany's hundred years war for the domination of the world. I say "in its western phase," because I am not going to talk about Japan. I know little about the Far East. All I do feel is a conviction that it is as necessary for Europe that the might of Japan should be crushed as it is for America, in my opinion, and for the Far East that the might of Germany should be crushed.

There are some people who would place the original instance of this war as far back as the Middle Ages, at the time of the Knights of the Teutonic Order, or at least as far back as the time of Frederick the Great of Prussia. I would not go as far back as that. However, I do think that, consciously in the minds of the leaders of Germany, a plan for dominating the world arose about the middle of the last century, when Prussia was under the leadership of her great and ruthless statesman, Bismarck.

Bismarck had a definite objective. His first objective was to unify Germany under the domination, the absolute domination, of Prussia. This objective he accomplished with ease. And he launched upon three wars of aggression—against Denmark in 1864 and annexed two Danish provinces; against Austria in 1866, and brought that great empire to its heels, to absolute subservience to Prussian dictates. He then embarked upon the war of aggression against France and defeated France in 1870 and '71. That was the period of organization.

When that organization was complete and the wars of aggression were won, he then set out upon the stage of preparation, military preparation, and from 1872, when the German Empire was founded, to 1914, the entire resources of the German Empire were devoted to one objective, and to one objective alone—the formation of a formidable army—the most



MR. ANDRE MICHALOPOULOS

formidable army that the world had ever seen. So we had the war of 1914 to 1918.

Germany was defeated on the military field in that war, but the German people in Germany never accepted that defeat. They never recognized that it was a real defeat. The return of the German armies to Berlin from the fronts was more like a victory parade than the return of forces that had suffered major reverses.

From 1918 to 1938 the war continued. Those were not years of peace. In Europe they were not years of peace.

The German war then entered upon its economic phase—the phase of an economic offensive which was entirely successful. That economic offensive had two objectives in view—the political subjugation of Europe, if that were possible, and the strengthening of the development of German war industry.

Well, German war industry was set afloat once more, almost entirely with the help of British and American capital. When it was set afloat, it had to be kept going, and in order to be kept going, mechanical goods had to be sold, markets had to be found, and those markets were found in Central and Southeastern Europe. They were found partly because, at the same time, the great democracies had a mistaken policy, a policy of economic isolationism which served the purposes of the Germans admirably.

I will give you an example from my own country. Our natural markets for exports, before the last war and in the first years of this war, were the British Empire, France and America. I put them in order of importance. We sud-



denly found that the policies of economic isolationism of these countries gradually closed these export markets to us. We could not sell our goods to the British Empire because of the Ottawa agreements; we could not sell them here because of tariffs; and France, too, made it difficult for us. Therefore, between 1923 and 1937, our exports to these three countries fell to one-third of their original volume.

That threatened Greece with a major crisis because we need to export our goods. We are a poor country; we are a small country. We were a country of 50,000 square miles and 8,000,000 inhabitants in peace-time. We are much less now, and we need to be sure of exporting our goods because we do not produce at home enough food to feed more than 46 per cent of our population. Therefore, we have to export in order to be able to buy food abroad and import it.

Again, let us take one of the major industries of Greece as an example—and when I take Greece as an example and one of the industries of Greece as an example, I wish it to be clearly understood that the same thing applies to all the smaller states of Europe during the intermediate period between the last war and the present war.

Greece's tobacco industry employs in peacetime anywhere from 350,000 to 400,000 men and women. That is a large proportion of a total population of eight million. If these men and women are thrown out of work, we have a major crisis which threaten not only the problem of balance of trade, but also threatens the northern cities of Greece with social destruction. Therefore, it is absolutely vital that our surplus tobacco should be regularly sold.

Now, these normal markets with which Greece usually dealt, as I said, closed, and Germany stepped into the breach immediately with her barter agreement system. They sent agents in swarms all over the Balkans, all over Central and Southeastern Europe to buy up the produce that was available. That was useful because they got resources that way, but it also had a political motive and an industrial motive. They bought up these resources and they came to an arrangement with the state banks of the states with which they dealt so they, the Germans, should not have to pay out ready cash.

The producers were paid in Greece by the Greek State Bank. The producers got the money; the wage-earners got theirs; the crisis was averted, and that was good. But what did the Germans do? The Germans simply wrote up a credit in Germany and said to these countries, "Well, you can come and buy German goods in our country."

That immediately created an interest, and interest is very powerful in the minds of realists. It created an interest in Greece to go and buy things in Germany. When Greek traders went to Germany to buy, they found that the only things that were available on the German market for export were mechanical goods—water meters, electrical appliances, agricultural machinery—all mechanical goods. They were goods that would keep the potential war industries of Germany turning, and that is what kept those industries alive—the creation of this trade with the countries that were being neglected by the democracies.

Politically, of course, that had some influence, too, because there was an infiltration of German agents all over Europe—all over the smaller countries. They brought with them their German ideals, if they can be called ideals. Also, business men from the countries involved went to Germany in great numbers to see what business they could do. Connections were created.

Well, that was the situation. Then we had this war. Germany was ready; Germany had prepared her machine. She got her factories tuned up. Some were manufacturing secretly; others were ready to start. They had been kept going by

the somnolence of the democratic powers. And, this war started.

When Hitler started this war, he and his fellow leaders of Germany were convinced that they would be victorious. They had a plan for victory—a definite plan for victory—which was the permanent enslavement of all the people surrounding it. They would become the hewers of wood and the drawers of water for the benefit of the master race. That is not true. It was widely publicized by the Germans themselves, but about two years ago the German leaders certainly were aware that they could not win the war. They then probably hoped for some sort of compromise peace. They should say about a year or fourteen months ago they realized that that, too, was not possible; that they did really face defeat and that defeat, sooner or later, would come to them.

You would have thought that, at that time, they would have changed their policy, their ruthless policy of brutality in regard to the occupied nations under their sway. You would have thought they would have become more lenient in order not to have such a terrific bill of hatred built up against them. But, not at all. Ever since they realized that they could not win this war, the Germans have become more ruthless, more savage in their treatment of the 230,000,000 people of the occupied countries of Europe.

Why is that? Simply because they have been putting into practice a policy which I would call "a policy of insurance against defeat," or, rather, I think they are opening up a new stage in this hundred years' struggle of theirs for the domination of the world.

They do not believe that with the end of this war the struggle is finished. They are inaugurating the most horrible stage of all, the stage of biological warfare. What I mean by that is that they have decided that they, on the one hand, are a healthy people; they have not suffered very much. They may suffer certain privations, but there is no nation in Europe which has suffered less than they—none whatever, not even the British. They are a healthy nation. They have not been starved. They have not had disease deliberately spread among them. They will emerge with a loss of population as a result of the war, but how many will they lose? Five millions, six, seven, ten, if you like? They will still be 75,000,000 people, a compact mass in the center of Europe.

Even if Germany is dismembered, even if her industries are dismantled, even if preventive measures are taken, there still will remain 75,000,000 German people in the middle of Europe. Their calculation is that, while the going is good, they can proceed with the extermination they are carrying out—and it is a thorough extermination; it is material destruction, industrial destructions of all kinds, and on top of that, biological devitalization of the peoples surrounding them. Starvation, spreading of disease—those are the weapons they use, and they are extremely powerful.

In Greece, 900,000 people have died of starvation from 1941 to the present day; 200,000 have died in the City of Athens; 900,000 people, 11 to 12 per cent of the population died of starvation. Do you realize what death by starvation means on such a scale? And 2,500,000 people are now suffering from the acutest stages of malaria, because all the work that was done by the Greek health services which were inaugurated by specialists sent by the Rockefeller Foundation to Greece about 25 years ago, all this elaborate and intricate system of defense against malaria, has been destroyed deliberately by the Germans in order to foster this disease. Two and one-half million, according to the reports of the International Red Cross, are suffering in consequence.

Five hundred thousand people are afflicted by tubercu-



losis We are told that 80 per cent of the children of Greece are either tubercular or suffering from other acute diseases. Well, there you have almost complete racial, I would not say "destruction," but the race is completely affected in its entirety through the deliberate policy of these people, this occupying horde of barbarians.

They hope that by this means they will survive; that when the time comes for Allied control, they will say they will be controlled. They will be punished, probably. Retribution will be exacted, but a time will come when the democracies will walk out of Germany and say, "That is enough." The German will be patient and good, and they will appear to be willing to accept anything, but that is the time when all they will have to do, having devitalized the people around them, will be to let natural biological and economic law work, and they may, possibly with the greatest of ease if we are not careful, get control of the resources of Europe without apparently going to war.

That is the danger. Just as they waged this economic warfare without the democracies seeing what was going on, so they are waging this biological warfare with a view to the future at a time when perhaps the results of this war will be working but will not then be noticeable to the controlling powers.

With the advance of science in the hands of people like the Germans, if they have the resources of Europe under their control then, the step to South America is very easy indeed.

In that general policy of Germany I also see the clue to what is happening in certain South American republics. Does it not seem to you extraordinary that exactly at the moment when Fascism is being everywhere destroyed by democratic arms, that should be the exact moment chosen by these certain American republics to flaunt their Fascist views and, in fact, to tighten their grip over their own peoples? It is the rulers—it is the Fascist rulers of these peoples who are exercising this sway.

It is all part of the same plan. It is because the South American republics believe that the Germans will get away with it. They are acting in concert with them. They are sending agents to Germany to buy up German factories, not in their own interests, but to protect these German factories from possible exploitation by the Allies. They are receiving Germans in their country and doing business with them.

There is a jumping-off ground for world conquest by Germany which will, if they can do it, not be limited to the European continent. You may be sure of that. Therefore, I say that our way of life, our democratic way of life, which originated in my country 3,000 years ago, and in which we all believe and which you practice in this country in the most magnificent way—because in no country is democracy practised as it is in your liberal and magnificent land—I say that democracy is now imperiled, and I say this just at the moment when we, the democratic countries, are winning the war. We have to be very careful.

It can be averted, but there is only one way, only one road—the road of international cooperation. That is why I consider it a privilege and honor to address this gathering where you have been studying these problems from that angle. I heartily concur with those who have said that Dumbarton Oaks is a healthful sign. More than that, the work accomplished there is groundwork of the greatest importance. It has been carried out wisely and cautiously. But we do need wisdom and caution.

It is not enough to get up on platforms and say, "Unite; unite; unite." Uniting nations which have a common ideal but have individual differences, individual interests, differences of interest, is a difficult process, and it has to be

handled with caution and wisdom.

However, there is no wisdom in despairing of it. I hope that we all have learned our lesson. The realization is necessary, too, that the smaller nations of Europe have gone through such a terrible ordeal that they are completely exhausted. They kept the last ounce of their strength in order to resist the invaders to the end. That they have done. They kept up their morale to the last in order that they could turn them out, and that is now happening in my country. The Germans are going, thank God! But as soon as the Germans are gone, there will be a relapse.

Freedom will come back, but it will not be the happy life to which we were accustomed before. Freedom will come back, but it will not be the boys coming home. For you, it will be alas, many will not come home. But those who will come home will come home to their same homes to their comfortable families to their gardens and to their pleasures and to their good, active and productive life.

But what have we? Not our homes, not our industries, not our means of production; we have nothing. We have ruins. And we have in every family ill health, malnutrition, undernourishment.

Freedom comes, but it comes over ruins. We have the Acropolis, and that is eternal. We have our spirit, I hope that is eternal, too, if the spirit of democracy does survive its last ordeal, not only in Europe, but everywhere.

All over the small countries of Europe you are going to have a period of moral suffering, too, because these peoples, expecting freedom, will unconsciously be expecting to come back to moral comforts and physical comforts, and that will not be possible. Relief will come, rehabilitation will come, but they are long processes.

In the meantime, there will be disappointments. There will be disappointments in government. Therefore, you cannot expect of these countries that have given 100 per cent—I would say even 150 per cent because they have mortgaged the future—you cannot expect of these nations that they will take their full responsibility just yet. They will be willing; the spirit will be willing, but the flesh will be very, very weak.

That makes the responsibilities of the great democracies all the greater. It does devolve, in the last resort, practically on two countries America and Great Britain. The responsibility devolves upon those two countries not only to compose their own differences, which are basically, thank Heaven, not great, but to find a common measure of understanding with that great power, Russia, because only if the three great powers are completely in accord on the measures to be taken to avert a war, can that war be averted.

I believe firmly that under the very shrewd and able statesmanship of Stalin, the Russia of today is perfectly willing and eager to come to an understanding with both your country and Great Britain. I believe the Russians understand the vital necessity for their own development and progress and expansion; that they should be in harmony with the great democracies of the West. I do not believe that Russia in any way is a peril to your social system. In fact, it sometimes amazes me to hear the things that are said.

Russia is not interested in foreign propaganda just now, so that that sort of talk is harmful to this country, to the peace, and to the world. That sort of talk should be fought persistently and hard.

In this struggle my very small country in never once coming to any sort of terms with the German monsters who occupied her, Greece has given proof of her absolute faith in democracy. She has fought as she has fought; she has resisted as she has resisted; she has carried on without her spirit being broken, out of self-respect, in the first place.



We have a long tradition to live up to, a long tradition which is hard to live up to and which I think in these three years we have lived up to, and we have faith in the principles which we believe in. We think that they will, they must survive; that they cannot be broken.

And lastly, we have complete faith in you. I firmly believe that that faith is justified.

Everywhere in this country I have found the profoundest sympathy for my land, for my people. Going around America, I have found friendly feeling and found awareness.

The Middle West is acutely aware of what is going on and acutely interested, and so is all of the United States. Everywhere I found the same warmth, the same kindliness, the same hospitality, and that is an encouraging sign. You are a very great country; you are a very powerful country but greatness does not reside in power alone. Power without goodness can be a very bad thing. In any case, power without goodness is an indifferent quality. But the quality of true greatness resides in its admixture with goodness and that is why you are a really great nation.

## Why an Institute of This Kind At This Time?

(Continued from page 3)

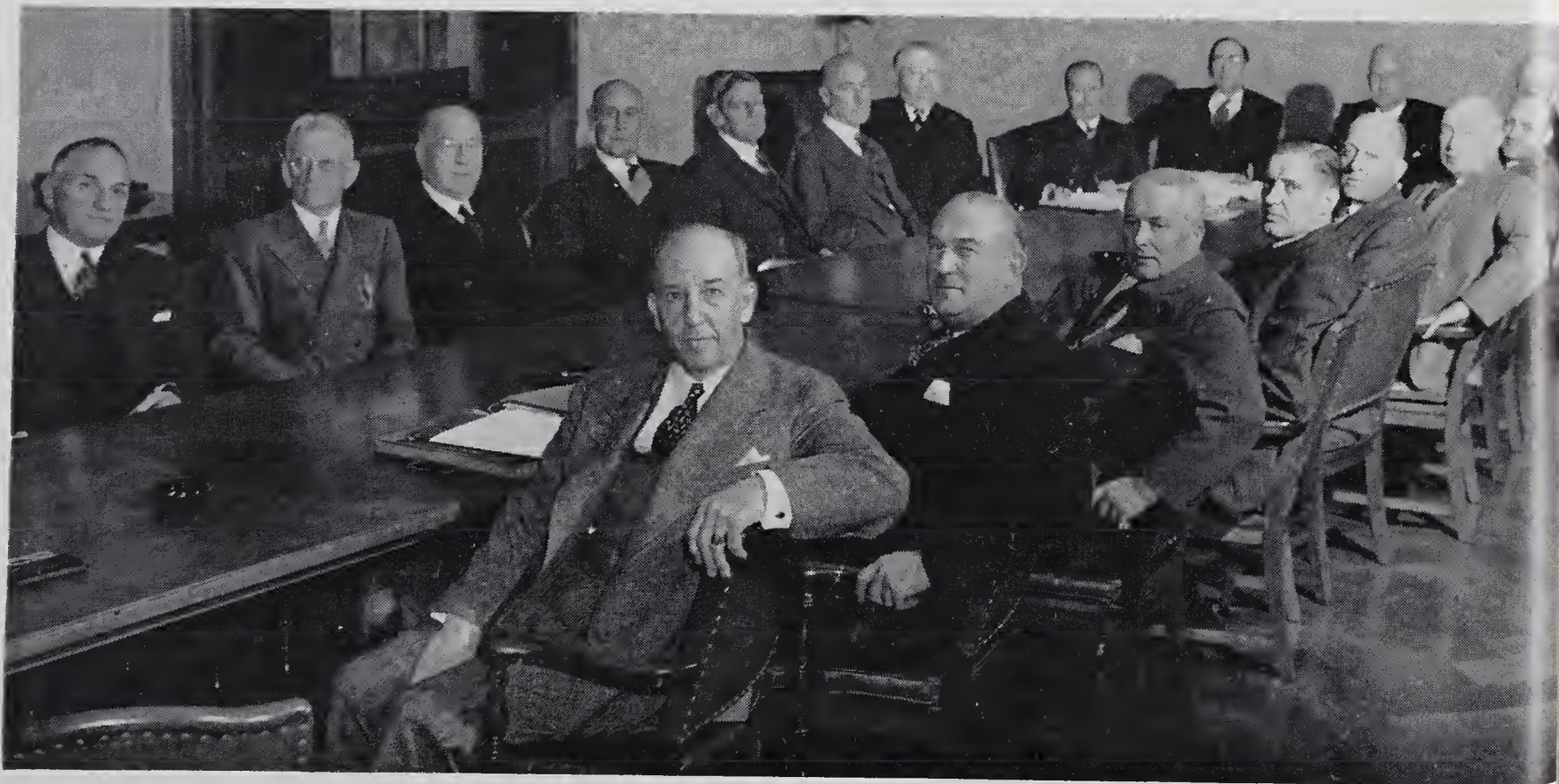
get a perfect organ before we are willing to stand by.

The second thing in this is that we provided that four nations, whether we like it or not, are going to have a large part of the say of what happens in the world. Now, they could not agree on how those nations were going to be permitted to vote. I believe it doesn't make any difference whether you make it a rule by majority, by two-thirds, by three-fourths, or unanimous rule, for the fact of the business is that we are in danger of two other things—the United States and Great Britain may split apart, or we may take up that old grudge, fighting that old German king that sat on the throne and who didn't know enough English to even talk with his own council, and who insulted us at that time and lost the colonies. Let us, in the name of common decency and in the future of the world, bury that old grudge, because if the United States and Great Britain can't stand together, it doesn't make any difference whether you have unanimity or majority rule, or anything else, for you are going to have war again. The same thing is true of

Russia. We have got to live in the same world with Russia. Russia is going to have a great deal to say today and in the future, and the fear of Russia need not trouble us.

I am very glad that on this program we are going to hear the voice of one of the sanest Americans, Mr. Eric Johnston. Let us heed what he has to say. If we stand together it doesn't make so much difference how they vote.

Let us not grow weary in well being, in well doing. Good people are lazy people sometimes, and sometimes we say, "Well, on this question of international affairs—let's just tend to our own affairs." Well, after the experience we have been through, when we did say we wanted to stay out of the war, and although we put up barriers that we thought would keep us out of the war, we were overrun by the wave of hatred abroad, and now we are in the midst of this war more deeply than any other nation. We can make it the last war. We can build a peace, and in the next generation we can go very far toward the realization of the ideals of the Golden Rule and the Kingdom of God on Earth, if we are willing to pay the price, if we are willing to work and do not shirk our responsibility as free citizens of a free nation.



Meeting of the Board of Trustees of Lafayette College, held during Institute. Reading clockwise, from extreme left: Arthur A. Blaicher, John G. Conner, Thomas H. McInnerney, Erle M. Flad, Gideon Boericke, Ervin G. Bailey, Asher J. Odenwelder, David B. Skillman, Secretary of Board; William Mather Lewis, President of Lafayette College; William H. Kirkpatrick, President of Board; Thos. J. Watson, Vice President of Board; Frederick H. Spotts, Joseph I. Diamond, Allan P. Kirby, Frederick J. Waltzinger, George B. Markle, Jr., Robert Tinsman, T. Franklin Soles.



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## IN VIRGINIA'S SCHOOL OF MILITARY GOVERNMENT

by Carter Brooke Jones

In this citadel of classic lore, the Army is making ready not only for the ultimate triumph that will eventually bring peace, but for the days immediately ahead, for every advance through enemy-held territory.

It's not that the Army is concerned with the peace terms, with the shape of the post-war world. That's a job for statesmen, not military men. But soldiers are vitally concerned - they must be - with what happens, between battles and the peace treaty, to the territory they conquer mile by mile.

Thus, at the school of law, from which so many students have gone to win eminence, in the court room or on the bench, the School of Military Government, the first of its kind, is teaching carefully selected groups of officers to administer, during the interim between the fighting and the peace, the towns and settlements which our forces are already capturing in various parts of the world. Eventually these military administrators will have whole provinces, states and perhaps countries to hold, as tranquilly as possible, as the fighting men sweep onward.

And for the first time in America's military annals, these officers picked for an extremely difficult assignment are learning, practically, how to carry it out successfully. During the 16-week course, as extensive and intensive as it can be made, the students have all the resources of the university Thomas Jefferson founded. They have the benefit of visiting faculty members from other great universities and colleges, of all the books and other research sources they need, here and elsewhere; of the Army's top flight administrators and lawyers.

### Lessons of Past Wars

In America's past wars, this administration of conquered territory was an improvised affair, a hit-or-miss procedure. There was no special training for the officers detailed to the job and no particular plan. After the Armistice of 1918, we occupied a sizable slice of Germany for several years. At the Coblenz bridgehead alone, more than 200 officers were assigned to civil affairs duties. As Brig. Gen. C. W. Wickersham, Commandant of the School of Military Government, recently expressed it: "Hastily organized, wholly unprepared, with no definite plan, they succeeded better than we had any reason to expect. Owing to economic and other conditions, the Germans were willing to accept our government and, with few exceptions, to obey its decrees."

But Col. T. L. Hunt, in a remarkable report on our military government in Germany, expressed hope that this Army never again would be found unprepared for this essential duty. The report reposed in the War Department archives for many years. It was dug out shortly before the present emergency. Col. Archibald King of the Judge Advocate General's Department and other officers quickly saw its value, and it was made the basis for the first manual on military government. This manual led to the School of Military Government under the general supervision of Maj. Gen. Allen W. Gullion, the provost marshal general. Here it's the basic textbook.

The school's third class is just getting under way. Already graduates are in foreign service, some administering places which Americans have wrested from the foe in North Africa.

### No Governors

It should be emphasized that the school does not turn out military governors. The only military governor in an entire military campaigns the commanding general of the theater of operations. He necessarily must make all final decisions of military policy, whether in tactics or in measures affecting civilians in conquered country. But, with his thronging responsibilities, he has to delegate the details to his staff, and a high-ranking member of this staff is in immediate charge of civil affairs for the whole theater. And he directs, in a general way, the







work of all the other civil affairs officers scattered over the zones of operation whom the situation may require.

The school trains administrators, not governors or policy-makers. There have been printed allusions to the effect that this school was plotting force on alien populations some way of life new and strange to them. Every member of the faculty, military and civilian, will tell you, somewhat indignantly, that there's not an atom of truth in this suggestion, and if the writers had taken the trouble to inquire into the course, even superficially, they'd have learned as much. The civil affairs officers who will be assigned to staff duty all over our far-flung battlefronts will be charged only with maintaining order in conquered towns and provinces, with keeping the status quo so far as possible, with letting the people carry on their laws and customs to the largest extent practicable. They're not involved, even remotely, in post-war planning. That's not their headache. Military governments, of one sort or another, have always followed advancing armies. And there'll be such ad interim administrations as long as there are wars.

### How It Functions

It may be assumed, to illustrate, that a United States expeditionary force has invaded the European continent at some point, and that a rapid advance has been made into the interior. A battle still rages, but behind this zone of combat there's a long stretch to the coast-line known as the zone of communications. Within this region from which the enemy has been expelled military government must be set up in cities and probably for entire provinces, counties and departments. Officers assigned to civil affairs are with the combat troops and they stay with their organizations, doing what they can to restore some semblance of order in the towns as they are captured.

The advance civil affairs officers send back reports on conditions among civilians and the physical shape of their towns and villages. When the attacking army has passed far enough ahead to assure even a temporary lull behind the lines, the commanding general, whose GHQ probably is at a coastal point, sends teams of civil affairs officers all over the zone of communications. In the larger towns separate administrations will be organized. These measures may be temporary, for the enemy may counterattack and win back at least a portion of the territory. But no time can be lost in restoring at least a vestige of normality to the inhabited places.

Military government is as necessary in the invasion of a friendly country as of a hostile land. A sympathetic populace may make the task a lot easier, but it's nonetheless essential for the Army to take necessary measures to prevent chaotic conditions which may hamper the advancing troops. A town may be bombed into ruins. The people may be starving. Their homes probably have been in the path of battle, and their civil government disrupted completely. If the friendly country has been held long by the enemy - as in the case of France, Belgium, Norway and Poland - the civil functionaries may have been puppets of the conquerors or else forced to carry out their decrees. There's unlikely to be any semblance of orderly government.

The first concern of our civil affairs officers moving in behind the battle lines must be to facilitate their army's advance. Nothing must be allowed to interfere with supply trains and communications - neither frenzied civilians blocking roads nor any acts of sabotage. But food must be brought in to hungry people. They must have shelter, safety and medical attention. These are only first-aid measures. But the Army must provide them. Civilians can't. The whole thing is too closely tied in with military operations.

Assuming, further, that the advance goes on, and a decisive battle is won. The enemy's resistance crumbles, and an armistice is signed. An armistice is not a peace, and soldiers and sailors must stay on until the statesmen complete their work.







But if the resumption of fighting seems unlikely, more stable military governments may be organized in cities, provinces and departments.

A civil affairs team moving into a captured city is apt to find about everything wrong that possibly could be. The water supply and other utilities may be cut off with an epidemic threatened. Bombed out and wounded civilians may be roaming the streets or huddled in hopeless terror. Vandals may be looting. The commanding officer and his staff thus must combine a variety of experience that takes in virtually every field of human endeavor. There must be a doctor, a sanitary engineer, experts on water works, electricity, railroads, telegraph and telephone systems; a lawyer, a man skilled in public welfare. There will be plenty of military police to enforce the necessary decrees.

As time goes on, and the early chaos in the city gives way to a more orderly state, the responsibilities of the civil affairs officers increase. With necessities restored, the military government can move toward more permanent stability. Industries must be started up again and men put back to work as soon as possible. Children must go back to schools. The banks must reopen. All this calls for more experts - in fiscal affairs, education, economics, industrial relations. There must be a public relations officer to supervise the organs of public opinion, such as newspapers and radio stations. Liaison officers must keep in touch with the citizens.

In hostile territory, especially, and often in friendly countries, it is necessary to organize military commissions and provost courts. Offences against the U. S. Army are tried in these courts, the more serious charges before a military commission and minor offenses before provost courts, each consisting of a single officer. If the civil courts of a community have broken down completely and the occupation is apt to be long, the commanding general may order military tribunals, to try all types of cases, civil and criminal, with the laws of the country followed. When the civil courts are running, however, they are usually allowed to continue undisturbed.

Students at the School of Military Government study what the Nazis and Japs have done on their invasions. This research could have as its title: "What Not to Do". For humanity will dictate the terms of our military government, even when we are dealing with a hostile populace. Subject to military necessity, says the basic Field Manual of Military Government, the rule should be "just, humane, and as mild as practicable, and the welfare of the people governed should always be the aim of every person engaged therein". The Manual adds that "as military government is executed by force, it is incumbent upon those who administer it to be strictly guided by the principle of justice, honor and humanity - virtues adorning a soldier even more than other men for the very reason that he possesses the power of his arms against the unarmed".

The civil affairs section, while it has the responsibility so long as the military remains, will welcome any civilian aid it can get - from the Red Cross, the Lehman Commission on Foreign Rehabilitation and the Board of Economic Warfare, or any other interested organization, governmental or private.

#### Men Carefully Chosen

It is doubtful whether any section of the Army picks its men as carefully. Officers sent to the school, most of them already in various branches of the service, range in rank from captain to colonel. The school also is allowed to commission in the Specialist Reserve and enroll a certain number from civil life with exceptional qualifications. There were more than 2000 applications for the course that began last month. The War Department selected 150.

Demonstrated administrative ability of a high order is required. It is not enough, the commandant, Gen. Wickersham explained, for a man to have had some experience along this line. He must have been exceptionally successful in his field. Foreign languages also are stressed. The officer who can speak the







language of the country to which he is assigned always has an advantage, and many of the candidates speak one foreign language or more. Engineers, lawyers with administrative background, public health executives, fiscal experts, economists and welfare executives are needed particularly. Those who know some country important in the global conflict, or who have travelled widely enough to have absorbed knowledge of several countries are in demand. A good many of the students have been officials of States, counties or municipalities. Necessarily most of the officers are older men, of ripe experience.

Gen. Wickersham is a distinguished lawyer, who served in France during the last war and won the distinguished Service Medal and the Legion of Honor. He is an ex-president of the Joint Conference on Legal Education in the State of New York and member of the council and Executive Committee of the American Law Institute. He is enthusiastic over the school, particularly, as he explains, because it is pioneering work.

The assistant commandant is Col. Frank H. Hastings and Lt. Col. Hardy Cross Bullard, former assistant Dean of the Virginia Law School and director of the Virginia Institute of Public Affairs, is director of instruction. Members of the faculty include Prof. Arnold Wolfers of Yale University, special advisor on Germany;

Dr. Hugh S. Borton of the State Department, lecturer on Japan, and Maj. Henry T. Rowell, advisor on Italy. The visiting lecturers have included such authorities as Lt. Col. Ira O. Hiscock, head of the department of Public Health at Yale, and Dr. Edwin E. Witte, prof. of economics at the Univ. of Wisconsin. There are many others who come for occasional lectures. The school has used over 1000 documents of recent information, and borrowed more than 6000 books from 30 libraries, and has purchased approximately 1000 other volumes. The catalog numbers more than 5000 items. There are 2600 maps.

The current class includes Maj. Ralph Waldo Mendelssohn of the Medical Corps, formerly medical advisor to the old Siamese government, authority on tropical medicine; Maj. John Daves Ames, editor and publisher of the Chicago Journal of Commerce; Capt. John B. Stetson, former Ambassador to Poland and a pilot in the last war, and Maj. James H. Appleton, executive of the National Cash Register Co., who represented it in Italy for years.







# *Pattern's Progress*

An Occasional Bulletin on *Pattern for Peace*, the Catholic, Jewish and Protestant Declaration on World Peace

Address Communications to the Editors: Rev. Edward S. Conway, S. J. and Rev. Richard M. Fagley

Supplement #8      Room 1005, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York 11, N. Y.

Sept. 15, 1944

## THE FRAMEWORK OF PEACE

The last in a series of ten addresses under the general title, "THE CATHOLIC LAYMAN AND MODERN PROBLEMS," delivered in the Catholic Hour, broadcast by the National Broadcasting Company, in cooperation with the National Council of Catholic Men, on July 30, 1944 by Mr. William Agar of New York City,

As a people we want and have always wanted peace and the chance to develop unhindered by others. Because of our unusual heritage of natural resources and because we did develop in an era during which broad oceans furnished some semblance of security, we were freed from any desire for aggression and we came to regard ourselves as set apart from the world.

Of course this was never true in fact. But we did believe we could trade and travel when and where we pleased, that we could take whatever part in world economics we saw fit to take -- yet play a game as observers only in world politics and, when trouble brewed, secure ourselves at will behind a barrier of neutrality.

Following this course and desiring only peace, we have become inevitably involved in the two greatest wars of history -- both within twenty-five years. Isn't that enough to show that our ideas about peace and the means of getting it leave something to be desired? We thought that peace was static. We believed we could have it and keep it by doing nothing or by refusing to become involved in war. We confused peace with pacifism.

That could not succeed. We see it now. We see that peace is hard to come by and infinitely harder to retain -- that we need to think and work and struggle to retain it even as we now struggle to gain the victory which will make peace possible.

We have advanced this far in America under the impact of events. Our people are convinced that we contributed to our own present troubles by our attitude after the last war and they do not want it to happen again. They want peace between nations -- peace which can endure because it is based on law and justice to all.

That is our aim. We fight to win the opportunity to establish peace. We know that if we do not, all the blood and tears and sacrifice of countless millions of men and women throughout the world shall once more have been in vain. We certainly do not want to betray the men who are fighting for us. But how are we to accomplish our purpose? What can we do?







It is not my aim to analyze the various proposals for world order that have been advocated or to concern myself now with the plans for peace which the leaders among the United Nations are working out. These proposals, these plans, deal with the institutions which form the framework of peace, just as bones and muscles form the framework of a body. Both are essential. But they must be animated by a life force. Otherwise they are useless and rapidly decay.

After the last war there were many good men with high ideals, including our own President, who participated in the attempt to write the peace. Yet the memory of the failure of the peace is still sharp and bitter. It looms as an ever-present warning of impending disaster.

For, in the reorganization of the world, lust for power and possessions dominated over the considered judgment of those who sought justice; the selfishness of nations led either to complete withdrawal or to demands impossible to fulfill except at the sacrifice of others. It was an order devoid of reference to the moral law or to religious sanctions that failed. Nations unwilling to accept moral responsibility for world order permitted the enemies of society to re-arm and to set out once more on their orgy of destruction.

Many of the talks you have listened to in this series have emphasized how the secularization of our thought, the loss of the knowledge of good and evil, has permitted men to seek material goals as their highest good until material things of their own making, wrongly used, have come near to destroying them. You have also heard it said many times that society must return to the fundamental moral principles upon which it is founded if it is to avoid self-destruction.

I believe this has been realized at last by large numbers of people. Religious leaders have always claimed that no peace can endure unless it has a place in it for God and is founded on His laws. Separately, the highest authorities of the Catholic, Jewish and Protestant religions made pronouncements during the past several years on the requirements for peace. Finally, it became clear that large areas of agreement existed between them. Then, on October 7, 1943, identical statements were given out by the leaders of the three groups.

These statements make no attempt to water down differences in religious outlook. They contain seven propositions designed to point the way for every individual to promote the principles of the declaration within the framework of his own beliefs. And, since the principles are fundamental moral ones -- those, in fact, upon which America was founded as a nation -- all Americans, whether or not they profess a formal religion, can subscribe to them. Their basis is belief in the dignity of man and the need to regulate human affairs according to ethical principles.

As we look into the future with an ardent desire for peace and security and justice for all, let us see if we cannot work together to assure that the final provisions for peace do embody the following points which our church leaders laid down as fundamental. (Mr. Agar at this point read the seven principles of the Pattern for Peace.)







The propositions I have just read you are concrete ones. The men who wrote them were not content with moralizing. On the contrary, they set forth a definite program and proposed definite institutions which, if established, would make possible the fulfillment of the requirements of the moral law for all men and all nations. They are minimum requirements, but, if we abide by them, we shall be living up to our American ideals and we shall have helped establish a world order in which peace between nations is possible.

The objective of the declaration is a spiritual objective yet it remains within the temporal order. The spiritual principles which it points to are: (1) The sovereignty of God over nations as well as individuals; (2) The essential place of the moral law in social life; (3) The inherent dignity of man; (4) The unity of the human race.

As a result of these principles it proposes an international bill of rights, the repudiation of racial, religious and other discriminations, protection of the weak and oppressed and of the rights of all minorities everywhere, the development of international economic cooperation in the interest of the common good.

The seventh point recognizes the intimate connection between the internal social order of the individual states and the well-being of the international community as a whole. This is a point which we have emphasized before with particular reference to America. Before we can hope to help establish peace among nations, we must set our own house in order and assure those rights to all our citizens which in our Declaration of Independence we proclaimed were theirs as human beings and which our Bill of Rights attempts to safeguard.

The racial problem in America, as one example, has passed beyond the stage when it was a local problem or even a national problem. It is now a world problem as witnessed by the fact that the mistreatments, misunderstandings, and clashes of interest involving our colored people has given much aid and comfort to the Japanese and has helped their propaganda among the colored races whom they have conquered.

But, even beyond that, we must assure the security of the family as the bulwark of society. This means safeguarding marriage, establishing decent standards of living and conditions of work for all men and women. The just demands of the worker must be met. Otherwise we are building peace upon insecure foundations. And all our people must recognize that their fights involve duties and act accordingly.

The religious leaders of America have pointed out the means whereby all, religious and non-religious, can unite in a common effort to attain a just and peaceful world order.

The practical steps in the political order required to implement their proposals must be taken by our politicians and statesmen. It is our duty to see that they do this. But we also must fulfill our part. For these moral principles will not save the world unless we and the men to whom we grant the power to frame the institutions and construct the machinery for peace are guided by them and it is the special duty of those whose religious training has made them aware of God's law to help incorporate it into the law of nations.







Without proper institutions the best intentions will fail to produce anything at all. But the best institutions, the most perfect machinery men can devise, will also fail unless supported by individuals and nations.

So our job as citizens of America and of the world is two-fold. We must force our legislators and administrators to take cognizance of the essence of these seven points. We must then support them with all the energy and good will we possess.

If we fail in either of these tasks we shall break faith with those who suffer and die for us today. If we wish to prevent the world from being plunged into another devastating war a few years from now we must not fail.







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Bulletin #8

Room 1005, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York 11, N. Y.

September 28, 1944

## ANNIVERSARY OF PATTERN TO BE COMMEMORATED

The Pattern for Peace was issued on October 7, 1943. To commemorate its first anniversary, we plan to issue a pamphlet containing a brief report on the progress made during the year and a number of comments we have received on the occasion.

### CIVIC PROGRAMS ON PATTERN

Indianapolis - Under the auspices of the Indiana Committee for Victory, a public meeting on the Pattern for Peace was held in Indianapolis September 10 in the World War Memorial Auditorium. Speakers were Rev. Howard Baumgartel, Rabbi Morris Feuerlich, Rev. Cleo Blackburn and Father Conway. Plans are now being discussed for a monster civic mass-meeting on the model of the Syracuse and San Antonio programs.

Los Angeles - Arrangements have been completed for a civic gathering on the Pattern in Los Angeles, California, October 1. To date the following have accepted positions on the Honorary Committee: Mayor Fletcher Bowron; Archbishop John J. Cantwell; President Rufus B. von KleinSmid; President Robert G. Sproul; President D. Bird; President E. Wilson Lyon; President Elam J. Anderson; Bishop James C. Baker; Dr. E. C. Farnham; Bishop William Bertrand Stevens; Rabbi Edgar Magnin; Rabbi Jacob Kohn.

Kansas City - An organization meeting attended by 350 civic leaders was held on, September 7, to make final preparations for a mass-meeting on October 10. Father Conway summarized the experiences of other communities in the preparation of the programs. The call committee of six was elected as the nucleus of the permanent committee, and it was voted to secure the civic arena for the occasion. The arena has a capacity of about 20,000.

### FEDERAL COUNCIL PROMOTES PATTERN

Dr. Walter W. Van Kirk of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America has sent a note on promoting the Pattern among local Protestant leaders and groups: "We have tried in all of our local conferences on this question (a just and durable peace) to encourage the use of the Pattern and we have sent it across the country to secretaries of Councils of Churches, Ministerial Associations, etc."

### LAW SCHOOL DEAN CITES PATTERN

In his graduation day address on August 25, Dean William M. Hepburn of the University of Alabama Law School cited points V and VII of the Pattern as basic to the organization of peace. His address, entitled Education for World Peace, has been printed in the Congressional Record at the request of Senator Lister Hill.

### PAMPHLET ON PATTERN ISSUED FOR CATHOLICS

The Pattern for Peace and the Papal Peace Program is the title of a report recently issued by Rev. John Courtney Murray, S. J., and the Ethics Committee of the Catholic Association for International Peace. Primarily, the report is







designed to prove the contention that "Catholic participation in the issuance of the Pattern for Peace may legitimately claim a place in the total Catholic peace program." The first half of the report is an analysis of the "Papal idea of cooperation in charity among all men of good will to do the work of justice which is peace." The second half discussed the Pattern in terms of the Papal concept. The Pattern for Peace and the Papal Peace Program may be ordered from the Catholic Association for International Peace, 1312 Massachusetts Ave., N.W., Washington 5, D.C.

#### RECENT PAPAL STATEMENT ON COOPERATION

In his recent broadcast commemorating the fifth anniversary of the war, Pope Pius XII devoted almost one-third of his radio time to the question of collaboration. We re-print certain passages here because of their obvious relevance to the cooperative movement which has for the past year been centered about the Pattern for Peace. We quote from the official Vatican translation:

Many well-meaning people, shocked by the accumulation of such ruin, are arousing themselves as from a troubled dream, trying to find even in other camps - hitherto mutually divided and estranged -- collaborators, travelling-companions and companions in arms for the great enterprise of reconstructing a world which has been shaken to its foundations and torn in its innermost framework.

There could be nothing more natural, or more timely, nothing -- given the necessary precautions -- more proper.

For all those who pride themselves on the name of Christian and profess their faith in Christ with a life conforming exactly to His Laws, this disposition, and a readiness to work together in a spirit of genuine brotherly harmony, not only answers to the moral obligation to fulfill one's civic duties; it rises to the dignity of a postulate of conscience sustained by love of God and of one's neighbors, stimulated by the warning signs of the moment and the intensity of effort called for in order to save the nations.

#### REFORM RABBIS PRAISE PATTERN

The Central Conference of American Rabbis, meeting in Cincinnati in June, adopted a resolution strongly commending the three-faith Declaration, Pattern for Peace. The resolution stated:

We shall not attempt to give a resume of developments in the international field in the past year. In the realm of religion the most important event was the issuance of the Catholic, Jewish and Protestant Declaration of World Peace....It has been widely distributed, favorably received, and has already brought about finer cooperation in many communities in building up sentiment for a just peace.

#### SYNAGOGUE LEADER PROMOTES PATTERN

We are in receipt of a report from Rabbi Israel Goldstein, President of the Synagogue Council of America and one of the first signers of the Pattern for Peace. In visits made to England and Mexico, Rabbi Goldstein brought the Pattern to the attention of many prominent persons. Among them were: General







Eisenhower, General Lee, Chief of Chaplains Tiernan and his deputy Chaplain Naiditch, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Archbishop of Westminster, the Chief Rabbi, the Dean of St. Paul's and Sir Stafford Cripps. "They all welcomed the Pattern as inherently worthwhile, as an act of religious statesmanship and as a splendid manifestation of inter-faith unity", said Rabbi Goldstein. While in Mexico he presented copies of the Pattern for Peace, with an explanation of its origin, to the Archbishop of Mexico, His Excellency Luis Martinez and to the Minister of Postwar Affairs, Lic. Vejar Vasquez.

#### CATHOLIC YOUTH STUDY PATTERN

The Semester Outline, the Sodality program for Catholic Colleges, High Schools and Schools of Nursing, devotes three pages of content matter to the Pattern for Peace. It was sent to approximately 3,000 colleges, high schools, schools of nursing, and to another 3,500 additional addresses. This means that probably at least three hundred thousand students are learning the Pattern's principles. The Pattern was also made part of the Sodality Parish Program. This program is sent to approximately 11,000 Sodalities in the country. Through the pages of the Semester Outline, the Pattern was presented to the Summer Schools of Catholic Action, sponsored by the Queen's Work, in San Antonio, Texas; New York; Chicago; and Montreal. Some eighty-five hundred people attended these four schools from all sections of the country.

#### N.C.C.J. REPORTS PATTERN ACTIVITIES

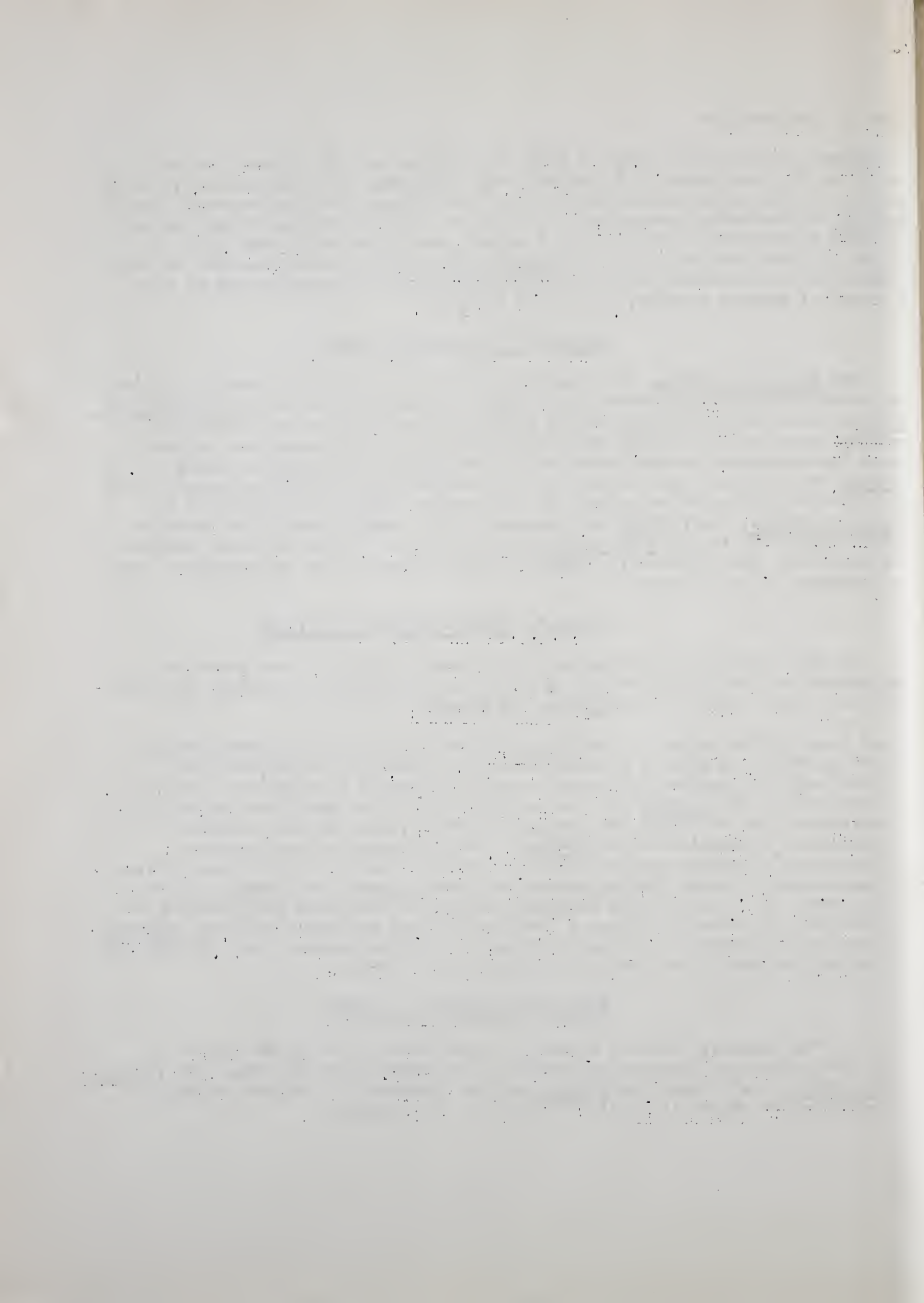
We have received the following report from the National Conference of Christians and Jews on the various methods they have used to stimulate interest throughout the country in the Pattern for Peace:

At least 85,000 copies of the Pattern distributed to key religious leaders and speakers. A special edition, numbering 35,000 copies, printed for Ohio region of National Conference with bibliography of books and articles. Inclusion of the Pattern idea in materials for Brotherhood Week and special articles which blanketed the nation in February, 1944. Special programs devoted to discussion of the Pattern, either arranged by the National Conference of Christians and Jews, or with other agencies at various cities: e.g., Miami, Florida (United Council of Church Women), San Antonio, Detroit (November 3). Nearly fifty important stories in Religious News Service dispatches. Editorials, October 8, October 29, 1943 and April 15, 1944. Pattern sent to all clergymen in several cities (in varying forms); e.g., Chicago with suggestions that it be used as the basis for a sermon.

#### CANADIAN INTEREST IN PATTERN

From Calgary, Alberta, Canada we learn that all the youth groups in Calgary organized through the Canadian Youth Commission will study the Pattern for Peace next Fall. The Pattern will be discussed by various religious youth groups which will meet in conference in December.







Among the leaders of public thought in the United States you have been selected, as one of 2500, to receive a copy of the enclosed Formula for Permanent World Security.

This formula for Permanent World Security has been under consideration for several years, and during the last year or two, with the approach of Peace, it has been studied by many people of experience in national and international affairs, Republicans and Democrats alike, who have pronounced it sound and workable.

It is now, at private expense as a contribution toward the cause of a just and lasting peace, being placed before the Congress and the people of the United States for study and consideration in the hope that it may become the basis for U.S. policy in helping to organize the military power of the world for Peace and Security.

Those who receive it will include the President and his Cabinet, the members of the U.S. Delegation to the Washington Conference on International Organization, the members of the Supreme Court of the U.S., members of the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, the Governors of all forty-eight states, the editors of five hundred leading magazines and daily newspapers with a coverage of the greater part of the population of the United States, radio and news commentators, the heads of the larger business, labor, agricultural, veteran, religious, and educational organizations of the United States whose membership, altogether, comprises a majority of the citizens of the country, political leaders of all parties, and hundreds of noted men and women of the United States in all walks of life whose interest has been in the Cause of Humanity and Peace.

If you believe that this self-explanatory proposal is sound and practical, I hope that you will, in your own chosen way, using the influence that you possess --- and with prayers for its success --- help this plan to become part of the international policy of the United States, a contribution by this country to the security of the World Neighborhood, and a cornerstone for an enduring peace.

Respectfully Submitted,

*Rufus Walter Bishop*  
Rufus Walter Bishop.

*Jeffrey*  
*Cann*







A FORMULA  
FOR  
PERMANENT WORLD SECURITY

(to be developed  
in two stages)

Designed to

- ..... protect the Security of the United States equally with all nations.
- ..... safeguard the "Freedom of the Seas and Air" and all commercial trade routes of the world.
- ..... serve as a sound basis for progressive and safe united reduction of military power as soon as the world is ready.
- ..... control the post-war power of Germany and Japan without causing a suppression that would result in a future explosion.
- ..... stabilize those areas of the world that might be future trouble spots.

Stage No. 1 Preliminary and Transition Stage  
lasting from 2 to 5 years after the end of hostilities.

Stage No. 2 Permanent Stage  
to commence at the end of Stage No. 1



1. Introduction

2. Method

3. Results and Discussion

4. Conclusion

5. References

6. Appendix

7. Tables

8. Figures

9. Notes

10. Index

11. Summary

12. References



A PROPOSAL FOR PERMANENT WORLD SECURITY  
WITH SUGGESTED METHODS FOR ITS APPLICATION

A Preliminary Statement

Thoughtful people everywhere recognize the fact that the world cannot continue to live in a state of anarchy. If there is to be international security and peace, there must be law and order.

To enable mankind to live in Security and Peace, under a condition of law and order, there must be some form of international organization such as a continuation of the present functioning United Nations. The name of such international organization is immaterial - it is the substance of effective world organization that is essential.

This world organization will necessarily require Executive Authority to carry into effect the recommendations decided upon by all sovereign nations assembled at regular or special sessions. A World Court will decide disputes of international character. And United World Military Power, operating under, and directed by the World Executive Authority and the World General Staff, will be prepared to use force if necessary to uphold law and order in the world community.

The following plan for Permanent World Security, to be developed in two stages, is definitely not intended to take the place of a World Organization having Executive, Policy-making, and Judicial branches. Obviously a practical use of force, if necessary, must support the peaceful purposes of a world organization. It is entirely possible that the success or failure of world organization - and the issue of future peace or war - may depend to a large extent on how the military force of the world is organized to implement and support the peaceful purposes of a united world.

The United Military Power of the World will consist of air, naval, and land forces, each sharing in the responsibility of keeping order and upholding Justice under the Executive Authority of the world organization and operating through a General Staff somewhat expanded. These divisions of military power will be coordinated to work together in the enforcement of law and order throughout the world.

Because the average citizen at the present time is likely to understand the strategic location of world naval bases better than the location of land and air bases, and because the united control of naval bases will necessarily play a large part in any coordinated military support of world peace, on account of the use of oceans as highways for much of the world's heavy trade, this proposal will deal with the organization of



DECLARATION OF THE  
PRINCIPLES OF THE  
UNITED NATIONS

The United Nations is an organization of peoples of the world, created by the peoples of the world, for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security, promoting friendly relations among nations, and cooperating in solving international problems.

The United Nations is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all its members. It is an organization of free and equal states, which have agreed to live in peace and harmony with one another. It is an organization of states which are united in their common interest in the maintenance of international peace and security, and in the promotion of friendly relations among nations.

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world naval power as an illustration of the formula, but the formula proposed for the organization of naval power can be and should be applied to both air and land forces in a coordinated System of Military Power, operating under the Executive Authority and General Staff of a World Organization.

### The Importance of Air Power Under This Formula

World air power, under stage No. 2 of this proposal, would be organized under exactly the same formula as World Naval Power, with bases located at other strategic points throughout the world. If both air and naval power were organized under the proposed formula, it is probable that it would not be necessary to maintain extensive armies under Stage No. 2, but such land forces as may be considered essential could be organized under the same formula - all three branches coordinated in one integrated system of military power under the Executive Authority and General Staff, carrying out the policies of the community of sovereign nations.

Because of the highly competitive nature of the air-craft industries of the three leading world powers, it is particularly important that this impartial formula for Permanent World Security be adopted as soon as possible in order to protect each of these nations, as well as all nations, from the insecurity that would result from unrestrained competition of these powers for the world military control of the air.

### PERMANENT WORLD SECURITY IN TWO STAGES

In order to be successful any plan for Permanent World Security must be practical and realistic. One cannot expect to jump from a world organized for war to one organized for Peace and Security without months of planning and adjustment during this transitional stage. By keeping our feet on the ground of practical reality under the Preliminary Stage of the Plan, and by keeping our eyes on the goal of Permanent World Security under Stage No. 2, the problems of transition from one stage to the other can be solved successfully.

These two stages are part of the same plan. If only the first stage of this plan were carried out, the world would very likely degenerate into several competing imperialisms, with only an armed "peace" to stave off the inevitable clash of rival interests. By preparing for Permanent Stage No. 2 during Preliminary Stage No. 1, the transition could be made smoothly, safely, and successfully.







Stage No. 1 - Preliminary or Transition Stage  
(lasting from 2 to 5 years after end of war)

The first need of the world immediately following the cessation of hostilities will be stability in order to give the forces of reconstruction the best chance to get started. Obviously, the security of the world, during this unsettled period, depends on the continued employment of as much existing military power as may be needed to maintain stability and order, under the General Staff of the United Nations. The advantages would be as follows:

- (1) There would not be time to organize anything different. Stability must be maintained with the forces at hand.
- (2) The existing United Nations power would be large enough for immediate world security. The United States would be strong on land, air and sea; Russia in land and air power; Great Britain in air and sea power, and China (possibly) in land forces, and other nations as during the war. Surplus power, not needed for maintaining stability could be demobilized.
- (3) The General Staff as now organized could continue, with perhaps some additions, during the transition period from Stage 1 to Stage 2. This would be the logical directing military staff, under World Executive Authority of Stage No. 2.
- (4) Naval and air bases throughout the world acquired during the war should be held in trust by the continuing United Nations General Staff while the rotary-command system of Stage No. 2 was being organized. All nations would be more willing to cede these bases to the United Nations than to any individual nation, because all nations would use these bases jointly for their mutual security during Stage No. 2.
- (5) There would be time, under Stage No. 1 to adjust the military power of the world to actual requirements. During Stage No. 1, it is probable that land power, as an occupying force in world trouble spots, would play the major part. But during Stage No. 2, air and sea power would be the chief needs, since, (aside from domestic police in each country) it should be possible for a combination of air and sea power, integrated in one system, to maintain world security on a permanent basis.
- (6) The large amount of existing equipment produced by a few of the major powers would be more useful for the Stage No. 2, since each of the nations, under Stage No. 2, could take over, and maintain its share of this equipment, thus reducing the cost, providing a use, and resulting in greater uniformity of a United World Military Power. This would make Stage No. 2 easier to organize than if the equipment varied too much in design and operation.



Section 1 - General  
Article 1 - Purpose and Scope

The first part of the law is devoted to the purpose and scope of the law. It states that the law is intended to regulate the relations between the State and the Church, and to ensure the independence of the Church from State interference. It also states that the law is intended to ensure the freedom of religious belief and the freedom of religious expression.

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(4) The law is intended to ensure the freedom of religious expression. It also states that the law is intended to ensure the freedom of religious expression.

(5) The law is intended to ensure the freedom of religious expression. It also states that the law is intended to ensure the freedom of religious expression.

(6) The law is intended to ensure the freedom of religious expression. It also states that the law is intended to ensure the freedom of religious expression.



Stage No. 2 - Permanent World Security  
(commencing at end of Stage No. 1)

A Practical Formula is the Basis of Success in  
Solving the Problem of Permanent World Security

It is obvious that in order to succeed in solving the knotty problems of Permanent World Security, a formula must be found that commends itself to all mankind for

- (1) Its absolute fairness and impartiality to every nation.
- (2) Its practicability.
- (3) Its economy.

A study of international conferences has shown the difficulty of finding a formula that would satisfy every nation. In order to succeed, a formula must be found this time that does command the respect of mankind because it is manifestly just and impartial to every nation. The formula proposed here does seem to have the above qualifications and is offered in the hope that it may help a little in bringing peace and security to mankind.

A Brief Outline of the Plan or Formula

This plan is designed to give to every nation in the world equal security, without the risk that any one nation can or will threaten the security of the others. (This illustration applies to naval power but the same formula would be used for air and land power, particularly air power which will share equal importance with naval power in maintaining world order and security.)

- (1) This purpose is accomplished by the establishment of 12 world naval bases at strategic points on the highways of the world's ocean trade. Each of these naval bases shall be manned by 12 "units of power". These units of power shall be defined, as explained in another paragraph, by a body of naval experts representing all 12 nations, and shall be suitable for the needs of keeping order in any given area.
- (2) Each naval base shall be in command of a Supreme Commander, operating under, and upholding the policies of a World Organization of Sovereign Nations. Operating under the Supreme Commander at each base shall be 12 sub-commanders - one for each nation to command the unit of power furnished by that nation.
- (3) The office of Supreme Commander at each world naval base shall be rotated from year to year, and the new Supreme Commander each year (or each two years if a biennial method is considered more feasible) shall be chosen by one of the nations furnishing a unit of naval power for that base. If the term of office of the Supreme Commander was



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Continued from page 39

1. The purpose of the study is to determine the effect of the treatment on the growth of the plants.

It is observed that in order to determine the effect of the treatment on the growth of the plants, it is necessary to determine the effect of the treatment on the growth of the plants. This is done by comparing the growth of the plants in the treatment group with the growth of the plants in the control group.

A study of the literature has shown that the growth of the plants is affected by the treatment. The growth of the plants is measured by the height of the plants. The height of the plants is measured in centimeters. The height of the plants is measured at the beginning of the study and at the end of the study. The height of the plants is measured at the beginning of the study and at the end of the study. The height of the plants is measured at the beginning of the study and at the end of the study.

2. The results of the study are as follows:

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1 year, it would take 12 years for the command of the base to rotate among the 12 nations manning the base. If the term of office was 2 years, then it would take 24 years for each of the 12 nations to have its turn at furnishing the Supreme Commander for each of the world naval bases.

- (4) This plan of rotating Supreme Commanders, annually or bi-ennially, at any given naval base shall apply to all of the 12 naval bases located in all parts of the world with the following important provision: that the permanent schedule adopted for the whole world shall be so devised that no single nation will furnish Supreme Commanders for more than one of the twelve world naval bases during the same period of time.

A suggested schedule accompanies this proposal which may help to explain with greater clarity just how the rotation of commands would work out in actual operation.

- (5) For practical purposes, the 12 larger nations are assigned places at each world naval base, mainly because the larger nations should be better able to assume the financial responsibility of furnishing more units of power than the smaller nations, but if the smaller nations wish to join together and furnish between them 1 unit of power for each base, these smaller nations can rotate the command of their own units and when it becomes the turn of this composite unit to furnish the Supreme Commander for the naval base, one of their own number can be chosen for the honor. But if the number of units of power at each naval base is increased from 12 to 13, then there should be 13 world naval bases in all parts of the world in order to have the rotation plan work successfully.

#### Advantages of the Permanent Plan (known as Stage No.2)

Any plan for a coordinated World Military Power must necessarily have many unquestionable advantages if it is to command the attention and the respect of mankind, and if it is to secure the widespread approval of all nations to make it a definite success. The chief advantages of this proposed plan are as follows:

- (1) It would be just and impartial to all nations. An impartial system with short-term rotation of commands would make it less possible, if not altogether impossible, for nationalistic rivalries to develop within the system.
- (2) Because it is plainly a just plan, it would eliminate the opportunity for selfish armament interests in any or all countries to arouse national jealousies and rivalries by false propaganda and chicanery.



1. First, it would be necessary to determine the scope of the project. This would involve identifying the specific areas of the project that would be affected by the proposed changes. It would also be necessary to determine the resources that would be required to implement the changes.

(2) The second step would be to develop a plan of action. This plan would outline the specific steps that would be taken to implement the changes. It would also identify the responsibilities of the various individuals and organizations involved in the project.

A third step would be to implement the plan. This would involve carrying out the specific steps that were outlined in the plan of action.

(3) The fourth step would be to evaluate the results of the project. This would involve comparing the actual results of the project with the goals that were set at the beginning of the project. It would also involve identifying any lessons learned from the project.

### Summary of the Project

The project was a success. It met all of its goals and objectives. It was completed on time and within budget. The results of the project were excellent.

(4) The fifth step would be to disseminate the results of the project. This would involve sharing the results of the project with the various individuals and organizations that were involved in the project.

The project was a success. It met all of its goals and objectives. It was completed on time and within budget. The results of the project were excellent.



- (3) By a system of "checks and balances" this plan insures absolute security to all peoples. The rotation of all commanders each year, or each two years, with no more than one base in the world under the command of any one nation at the same time would protect the interests of each nation equally.

Even nations considered present enemy countries, after they are reconstituted could be admitted to such military system without undue risk, and it would be psychologically sound to admit them to the system as soon as possible after the conclusion of the present conflict. The automatic system of "checks and balances" would protect every nation. It would be difficult, if not impossible, for any one nation to stir up international trouble within the world system.

- (4) The successful operation of this plan would result in great economies in the amount of money spent by all nations for naval armament. Such economy would be an important consideration after the present conflict when most if not all nations will carry a heavy load of debt which must be liquidated in due time. The money saved on new naval armament could go into steel and other products for the general reconstruction of the world.
- (5) It would help lay the basis for wide development of international trade freely moving between nations without fear of disturbance. A coordinated naval power, as proposed, would contribute to the freedom of the seas - safeguarding the interests of all nations and peoples equally.
- (6) It would be practical plan for administrative purposes. Since naval craft are, for the most part, designed to operate within limited areas not too far from regular naval bases, this plan of having the naval power of the world operating in 12 defined zones adjacent to the 12 world naval bases would be practical from the administrative standpoint.
- (7) The plan would be psychologically sound because it would be recognized as a just plan that would treat all nations fairly. It would help to give mankind the sense of security that is the basis for international stability and peace.
- (8) Because the military power of the world, organized under this formula, would be in actual balance at all times, the question of progressive disarmament would be solved automatically and safely by reducing, periodically, the size of the units of power at each or any world base in accordance with the growing security and stability of that particular area.



by a system of "control" and "direction" which is  
subjected to the will of the "superior" and which  
is not subject to the will of the "inferior". This  
is the basis of the "control" system of the  
organization.

There are two main types of "control" systems:  
1. The "control" system of the "superior" which  
is subject to the will of the "superior" and  
which is not subject to the will of the "inferior".  
2. The "control" system of the "inferior" which  
is subject to the will of the "inferior" and  
which is not subject to the will of the "superior".

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Technical Problems Made Easier By  
an Impartial Plan

One of the chief difficulties at previous peace and arms limitations conferences has been the intrusion of conflicting national interests in deciding technical questions. There have been so many national, geographic, economic, and political considerations to be introduced, that it has been most difficult in the past to bring to all nations the security which each one desired. The use of an impartial formula would eliminate at once the conflicting interests, since it would be to the mutual advantage of every nation to cooperate in making the united military power of the world one of the greatest efficiency. Because all nations are treated equally, it would not be difficult for a body of naval experts to decide just what types of naval craft are necessary for each strategically located naval base for the purposes of giving adequate protection to the interests of all nations served by that area.

Among the technical problems to be decided would be

- (1) The location of 12 world naval bases on the highways of the world's ocean trade, strategically located to give the greatest protection to the interests of all nations.
- (2) The composition of each "unit of power" provided by the different nations for each base. Each unit of power would probably be measured by weight, by cost, by gun power, by speed, and by its general efficiency for the purposes of policing the ocean highways. Some nations would probably furnish a "unit of power" composed of craft of a certain category. Other nations, furnishing units of equivalent value might furnish from a different type. The purpose would be to have these "units of power" fairly balance each other so that each nation would bear its fair share of the responsibility and cost of naval duty. However, the requirements may not be the same for each of the 12 stations on account of geographical or political considerations in any area. Consequently, the "unit" value may be raised or lowered for any particular base in order to secure the greatest efficiency and economy. But since each of the 12 nations furnishes one unit of power for each base, the whole system would be maintained in practical balance, and it should not be difficult for a group of the world's ablest technicians to devise an arrangement that would be fair to all nations.







- (3) The coordination of the different units of power at each base would constitute the most difficult problem, but since it is inevitable that mankind must learn to work together, if there is to be any security for any one anywhere in the world, nations might just as well get down to the business of working together now as to defer this manifest duty to an indefinite future. After all, the problems of peaceful organization are no greater than the tremendous problems of organization required in any war on a world scale. A difference in language, in type of equipment, and methods might cause some difficulties in the first years, with 12 units of power at each base, but these problems would be overcome in due time.
- (4) The efficient use of naval power at the conclusion of Stage No. 1 would make it advisable for some of the nations without sufficient naval equipment of the right sort to man their 12 units of power to purchase such naval equipment from nations that will be over-supplied at the end of Stage No. 1, thereby reducing the total amount of any additional equipment necessary to put a Permanent World Security System (Stage No. 2) into efficient operation.

#### Development of International Cooperation

Since there is a growing desire and recognition throughout the world that all peoples must work together if there is to be continuing advance of civilization, the foregoing plan is devised to give to all nations and peoples a sound basis for cooperation. There should develop at each world naval base an esprit de corps. Each Supreme Commander, as it became his turn to command the naval base for a period of one (or two) years would naturally do his best to give his station the most efficient service. It would be a matter of personal satisfaction and national honor to serve well the common purposes of mankind.

The growth of international sports at each naval base would contribute to international sportsmanship.

#### Conclusion

The foregoing proposal is submitted for consideration at the present time, in memory of those who have struggled for the freedom of the world and in the hope that it may help in bringing Peace and Security to all nations.

Rufus Walter Bishop.







chedule #1

A Suggested Schedule for The Rotation  
Of Supreme Commanders at World Naval Bases

- (A) 1 or 2 year rotation. The schedule is made out for a 1 year rotation but this could be changed to a 2 year rotation by changing the dates accordingly at the top of each column.
- (B) No more than one Supreme Commander at any time furnished by one nation anywhere in the world.
- (C) If there are several smaller nations that desire to have a part in helping to maintain world order, they can combine to supply one unit of power for each of the naval bases, but if there are 13 units of power at each naval base there should be 13 naval bases to make the rotation of commands possible.

YEAR	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961
BASE NO. 1	ENGLAND	NETHERLANDS	JAPAN *	ARGENTINA	RUSSIA	CHILE	GERMANY *	CHINA	U.S.	BRAZIL	ITALY *	FRANCE
" 2	NETHERLANDS	JAPAN *	ARGENTINA	RUSSIA	CHILE	GERMANY *	CHINA	U.S.	BRAZIL	ITALY *	FRANCE	ENGLAND
" 3	JAPAN *	ARGENTINA	RUSSIA	CHILE	GERMANY *	CHINA	U.S.	BRAZIL	ITALY *	FRANCE	ENGLAND	NETHERLANDS
" 4	ARGENTINA	RUSSIA	CHILE	GERMANY *	CHINA	U.S.	BRAZIL	ITALY *	FRANCE	ENGLAND	NETHERLANDS	JAPAN *
" 5	RUSSIA	CHILE	GERMANY *	CHINA	U.S.	BRAZIL	ITALY *	FRANCE	ENGLAND	NETHERLANDS	JAPAN *	ARGENTINA
" 6	CHILE	GERMANY *	CHINA	U.S.	BRAZIL	ITALY *	FRANCE	ENGLAND	NETHERLANDS	JAPAN *	ARGENTINA	RUSSIA
" 7	GERMANY *	CHINA	U.S.	BRAZIL	ITALY *	FRANCE	ENGLAND	NETHERLANDS	JAPAN *	ARGENTINA	RUSSIA	CHILE
" 8	CHINA	U.S.	BRAZIL	ITALY *	FRANCE	ENGLAND	NETHERLANDS	JAPAN *	ARGENTINA	RUSSIA	CHILE	GERMANY *
" 9	U.S.	BRAZIL	ITALY *	FRANCE	ENGLAND	NETHERLANDS	JAPAN *	ARGENTINA	RUSSIA	CHILE	GERMANY *	CHINA
" 10	BRAZIL	ITALY *	FRANCE	ENGLAND	NETHERLANDS	JAPAN *	ARGENTINA	RUSSIA	CHILE	GERMANY *	CHINA	U.S.
" 11	ITALY *	FRANCE	ENGLAND	NETHERLANDS	JAPAN *	ARGENTINA	RUSSIA	CHILE	GERMANY *	CHINA	U.S.	BRAZIL
" 12	FRANCE	ENGLAND	NETHERLANDS	JAPAN *	ARGENTINA	RUSSIA	CHILE	GERMANY *	CHINA	U.S.	BRAZIL	ITALY *

REPEAT ROTATION AFTER 1961

(\*) Taken by U.S., England and Russia until reconstituted.



# 1. Generalized Recursion for the 2. Fibonacci Sequence

- (1) Let  $F_n$  be the  $n$ th Fibonacci number. The sequence is defined by  
 $F_0 = 0$ ,  $F_1 = 1$ , and for  $n \geq 2$ ,  $F_n = F_{n-1} + F_{n-2}$ .  
 (2) We want to show that the sequence  $F_n$  is bounded by  
 $F_n \leq 2^n$  for all  $n \geq 0$ .  
 (3) To show this, we use induction. The base case is  $n = 0$ ,  
 where  $F_0 = 0 \leq 2^0 = 1$ . The inductive step is to show  
 that if  $F_k \leq 2^k$  and  $F_{k-1} \leq 2^{k-1}$ , then  $F_{k+1} \leq 2^{k+1}$ .  
 This follows from the definition of  $F_{k+1}$  and the inductive hypothesis.

$n$	$F_n$	$2^n$	$F_n \leq 2^n$
0	0	1	Yes
1	1	2	Yes
2	1	4	Yes
3	2	8	Yes
4	3	16	Yes
5	5	32	Yes
6	8	64	Yes
7	13	128	Yes
8	21	256	Yes
9	34	512	Yes
10	55	1024	Yes
11	89	2048	Yes
12	144	4096	Yes

RECAP: ROTATION AFTER 120°

(1) Given by H. S. G. and H. S. G. and H. S. G.



Suggested Organization  
of each World Naval Base

Based on 12 Units of Power for each Base

The component parts of each unit (which are non-competitive) can be decided upon by naval experts of all nations. Each unit of power shall be of relative value for any base. But some naval bases may require a greater amount of power for naval duty than other naval bases, in which case, each of the 12 units of power shall be relatively stronger than the units of power for bases which require less power.

If a number of smaller nations desired to have a part of this responsibility, they could furnish a total of one unit of power for each of the naval bases, with the expense divided between them. In case this is done, there should be 13 world naval bases instead of the proposed 12, to make the rotation plan work.

If Germany, Italy, and Japan were not to be admitted at the end of Stage No. 1 on account of the unsettled international mind as an aftermath of the conflict, then England, the United States and Russia should each accept the added obligation of one extra unit each until such time as they can be taken care of by the former enemy countries. However, since it would not be conducive to the future peace and unity of mankind to have any large nation ignored in setting up a Permanent World Security System, and since the restrictions which this type of organization places upon any nation to cause trouble, it would be psychologically sound, and conducive to international solidarity and progress to have each nation capable of helping to support this united World Military Power to have their fair share in it from the beginning of Stage No. 2.

A proposed list of "units of power" for each  
World Naval Base is as follows:

England	1 Unit
United States	"
Russia	"
France	"
China	"
Netherlands	"
*Germany	"
*Italy	"
*Japan	"
Brazil	"
Argentina	"
Chile	"
<hr/>	
Total	12 Units

\*See note at foot of previous page.



TABLE 1



FOR RELEASE 10:45 P.M.  
Tuesday, June 13, 1944

FOLLOWING IS AN ADDRESS BY SUPREME COURT JUSTICE OWEN J. ROBERTS TO THE UNITED NATIONS COUNCIL IN PHILADELPHIA, BROADCAST BY THE COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM ON TUESDAY, JUNE 13, AT 10:45 P.M.

SUBJECT: Pledge for Peace

In this hour of supreme sacrifice by millions of our youth we pray for the success of their battle effort. We know that they fight not for power but for righteousness. When our people realized the strength and purpose of the selfish aggressors, they rallied behind our leaders with a single will. Once the threat to our freedom was felt there was no division amongst us. Every man and woman in our land was prepared to do and to give whatever the emergency demanded.

Without protest or demur our sons and brothers have taken their places in the fighting forces for they have been told that they were to battle for the cause of liberty under law; that this war must end wars of aggression and rapine; that our goal is a free and peaceful world.

It is for us to ensure that these men shall not have fought and bled and died in vain; that they shall not be mocked by a so-called peace which is only an armed truce awaiting the day when some nation shall again deem itself strong enough to impose its will on other nations. It is for us, the people of this nation, to gird ourselves and make known our will to our elected representatives and to the peoples of the earth. It is for us to declare our fixed purpose that the causes of strife between nations shall be removed and that an organ shall be established and supported which will insure order under law throughout the world.

This is the time of golden opportunity. Such an opportunity probably will never come again. If we lack courage, vision, and purpose, we shall have miserably betrayed our kin who have given the last full measure of devotion to us and to all we hold dear. Shall we let them down? Why should we?







In the emergency of war we have proved we are not soft; we have shown that the hardiness of our pioneer ancestors persists in their progeny; we have demonstrated that the skill and initiative proverbially typical of our people exist in our generation. In a few months we have built an army and furnished it with material which we ourselves would hardly have thought possible a few years ago. Thus we have insured victory for our allies and ourselves.

Is victory more important than the world order it is intended to insure? Shall we win the battle of physical force, and suffer intellectual and moral defeat?

I am certain that the people of the United States can have the kind of world order they want. The role of this nation in the war, the genius of its government, its disinterestedness, the certainty that it will not use the national strength for aggression or conquest, make it clear that other peoples everywhere will anxiously await our leadership in the initiation of a world order.

One hundred fifty-seven years ago in this city a little group of youngish patriots confronted a situation, which then seemed more desperate than that which we now face. They had to find a federal principle that would consolidate independent states with interests as diverse, with jealousies and differences as acute as those which divide the peoples of the earth today; to propose a government that would bind together, for common defense and general welfare, a territory as vast, - means of intercourse and communication considered, as the world seems to us today.

Though doubtful if the frame of government proposed would be accepted, and equally doubtful that, if adopted, it would survive, they did not flinch. They courageously put forward the only plan they thought had a chance of survival. Generations of our people have given thanks for their ingenuity and their courage..

Are we today less resourceful than they? Do we lack their vision and their courage? Or are we ready to dare a great experiment of joining the peoples







of democratic nations in a common union of free men for common defense against aggressors and the common welfare of the federated peoples. Will the American people try? Will they make known their will that such a union shall be established? I believe they will, if they sense the alternatives. What are the alternatives?

If we are to go on as we have, every nation will be a law unto itself. This is anarchy. There is no rule that binds the peoples of the several nations. Each nation, as an entity representing its citizens, is like a savage in a land without a government; each nation is the judge and the executioner in its dispute with any other. A nation, like a savage in an unsocial region, may pledge its word, but may violate its pledge at pleasure. Power, only power, the power to overcome the attacker, is the guaranty against attack.

Leagues of nations, like compacts of unsocial men, are good only so long as all members agree, and are worthless the moment one member repudiates his obligations. Our forefathers tried a league of sovereign states after the Revolution. Consternation at its impotency begot the Constitutional Convention of 1787. After the last war, powerful nations formed a league. Dissentions and differences rendered it helpless to prevent Nazi reoccupation of the Rhineland, the Fascist rape of Ethiopia, and Japan's aggression against China. Need more be said?

Treaties of alliance do not stay national selfishness, do not prevent national jealousies, do no more than create an armed truce, the while some member of the alliance grows powerful enough to demand a revision of national relations as the price of abstention from war.

If the United States is to live in a world of so-called sovereign nations, which means nations who do as they please when powerful enough to impose their will, then we must have a new kind of government. This nation must reduce its scale of living in order to support an enormous military establishment. We shall soon have to substitute a military dictatorship for the individual liberties we have known. Obviously we cannot safely relapse into the somnolent state we in-







dulged after 1918. But more, - not even this nation, great as its wealth and power, can stand alone against coalitions of other great powers. And so we shall have to resort to power politics, temporary alliances, to head off this or that nation whose power and greed threaten us.

The world will consist of a series of armed camps. Law and government there will be none.

Some say the answer is an international police force. But they add that they intend no surrender of sovereignty by the nations which support such a force. Surely they have not thought the problem through. A police force implies a government which commands it. A police force is a body which enforces the commands of organized society, of government, against men individually or in groups who disobey the law of the political community. Can you imagine a police force representing five separate and independent governments? If they disagree, which one will the police force obey?

The truth is that to have such a force the peoples of the constituent nations must delegate to a government, - their government for this limited purpose, - the power and the resources to create, support and command the force. Such a government must have a tribunal to adjudicate rights if the police are to be lawfully used.

And this is equally true of all other international relations. They must be adjusted by crass force or some form of government. In political society order is a function of government. No men anywhere know ordered liberty without some sort of frame of government, which declares rights, adjudicates violations of those rights, and enforces the adjudications, if necessary, by the use of the police. Such a government must be permanent; it must continue so long as the majority of individuals who compose it so desire; it must have the power to insure its existence.



London, 1914.

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 10th inst. in relation to the proposed publication of a book on the subject of the "History of the British Empire". I am sorry to hear that you are unable to find a publisher for the work, but I am sure that it will find a ready market if it is well written and well illustrated.

Yours faithfully,

John A. Hobson, Esq.,

10, Bedford Square, London, W.C.1.

I am, Sir, very truly yours,

John A. Hobson.

Enclosed for you are two copies of the book.

Yours faithfully,

John A. Hobson, Esq.,

10, Bedford Square, London, W.C.1.

I am, Sir, very truly yours,

John A. Hobson.

Enclosed for you are two copies of the book.

I am, Sir, very truly yours,

John A. Hobson.

Yours faithfully,



Some proponents of world organization say that the United States must insist on an "escape clause." But, if we are to have an escape from our solemn compact every other nation is entitled to the same privilege. Such an arrangement is no better than a temporary alliance. If we have the courage to cast our lot with other men of other lands for world order, let us do so whole-heartedly and in a way that will give some hope of success. If we have not, let us have done with pious protestations of good will and cooperation, with escape clauses which apprise the world that we speak with our tongues in our cheeks.

The people of the United States are satisfied with an international armed truce, or they want to unite in an effective international government of limited but sufficient powers to ensure a life of individual liberty under law. I have no doubt as to their choice. But I deplore their failure to declare themselves, to call upon their chosen public servants and the intellectual leaders of our country for constructive planning and action.

God grant that when our boys come home they cannot say to us: "We went and fought your battle as did our fathers in 1917. We return to find our triumph an empty victory; to find you have left us the same old anarchic world. It is your fault that our sons must sooner or later bleed and die for a nation which has let them down."



Mr. Tolson: Yes, sir.

1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 26

1. *Pharmaceuticals* (1997) 10: 101-102.



From: The Commission on a Just & Durable Peace  
Federal Council of Churches  
297 Fourth Avenue  
New York 10, New York

(For Publication in Evening Papers Tuesday, May 16, 1944)

PRINCETON, N. J., May 16 - The churches can exercise a decisive role in creating a pattern of world order that will assure peaceful solutions of differences between nations which inevitably will arise when the task of preserving civilization once again passes from the military to the civilian, said John Foster Dulles in the commencement address today to the 1944 class of the Princeton Theological Seminary.

Mr. Dulles, New York lawyer, chairman of the Commission on a Just and Durable Peace and a Princeton University alumnus, said that only after 30 years of experience with futility in international affairs had he come to recognize the relevancy of the Christian gospel to the practical solution of world problems.

Analyzing the causes of the failure of the Versailles peace conference and other international diplomatic conclaves in which he personally participated he enumerated them - idolatry, hypocrisy, blindness and evil emotion.

There was idolatry, he said, in the practice of national representatives personifying their state as quasi-god; hypocrisy in considering their own national group to be endowed with virtue and all others with vice; blindness in their inability to see beyond what served their own short-range material interest and evil emotion in their readiness to become suspicious, resentful and angry.







"And there was little good emotion," Mr. Dulles added. "Few were inspired by a great vision or a sense of mission in the world. They saw their tasks as isolated events in a materialistic world, rather than as elements in some great progression towards human betterment. They were ineffective because they lacked a righteous faith."

The lessons learned from past mistakes and the adoption of Christian principles point the way, Mr. Dulles said, "in which the churches and Christian ministers like yourselves can decisively aid the cause of world order. By and large your greatest contribution will be to implant the qualities of soul and mind that Christ taught and then to get these qualities into actual use."

In this connection he spoke of the Versailles peace conference. While the members of the American delegation were adherents of either the Christian or the Jewish faith he doubted that any of them "invoked the tenets of his faith to qualify his mind and spirit to solve the concrete problems which confronted him."

"This is the kind of omission, which, if opportunity offers, you must seek to correct," Mr. Dulles told the graduates.

In Mr. Dulles' opinion, the voters of this nation "need to realize that leadership can safely be entrusted only to those who possess and will exercise, not only in word but by competent deed, the qualities taught us by the great religions. Your greatest contribution towards world order will be to bring Christian citizens to realize that their political leadership will be futile and end only in disaster unless it is the leadership of men who have and will use the qualities of the kind Christ taught."







Mr. Dulles, however, warned Christians against overlooking the obstacles which lie in the way of realizing a perfect world order. He said: "That is the partial blindness which frequently afflicts Christians. They see so far that they overlook what is near. They are so concentrated on ends that they ignore means. They enthusiastically embrace leadership that utters fine words. They do not judge critically the practical possibilities of converting those words into deeds. That had led to the common opinion that what Christ taught is of little practical value.

"I think the vision Christ taught was total vision, which sees all the facts. Like Pilgrim, we must move forward through obstacles; we do not soar above them. Unless we see those obstacles we shall stumble and get nowhere."

Many are discouraged by the realization that permanent peace cannot be easily and quickly assured by military victory or by some treaty formula, but Mr. Dulles regarded that as encouraging. "All great wars give rise to visionary hopes that victory itself will assure lasting peace," he said. "Now we know, in time, that to win a victory and to proclaim a peace does not suffice. To know that is the beginning of wisdom."

Mr. Dulles concluded: "To achieve world order is a long, hard task. It is not for those who are weary or faint of heart. It calls for men who are clear of vision and strong of faith. We need many who possess and use the qualities Christ taught. To assure that is your task."







# World Alliance News Letter



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May 15, 1944

## Action

The great majority of the American people are agreed that the United States should join in an international organization strong enough to keep the peace and cooperative enough to make it worth keeping. This fact is attested by public opinion polls and by pronouncements of responsible groups. Religious bodies have issued an impressive series of statements on world order during the past few months, all agreeing on this basic purpose. Local chambers of commerce across the country have voted overwhelmingly for the same objective. The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor has emphasized the identical aim, as cited in this issue of the NEWS LETTER.

Leaders of both parties, moreover, are taking this public sentiment into account. It was well expressed by Secretary Hull on April 9 when he spoke for an international organization backed by adequate forces to maintain peace. It was recognized by Governor Dewey on April 27 when he spoke for the same objective. Agreement on this fundamental purpose constitutes progress towards an American foreign policy above party lines. It is doubly important in this election and invasion year.

The appointment of a committee of eight Senators to confer with Secretary Hull is another favorable sign that the tragic road of the 1920's need not be travelled again. The fact that international decisions are being made step by step rather than being left to some post-war treaty is likewise favorable. These and other factors strengthen the conviction that the peace can be won.

Yet they offer no ground for overconfidence. A question-mark still hovers over American policy. The reasons are fairly obvious. Major decisions in foreign policy usually take the form of treaties and must be ratified by two-thirds of the Senate. This means that 17 to 33 Senators can nullify any treaty. If legislative records indicate present attitudes, there are at least that many Senators who are inclined to pursue isolationist policies. Some of these come up for reelection, it is true, but national, state and party issues tend to over-ride international issues in such elections. At this date the elections do not seem likely to alter very much the composition of the Senate. Consequently, the uncertainty of treaty ratification appears to be a persistent question-mark.

This is the situation we face. Unless the agreement of the American people on international collaboration is great enough to secure a similar agreement by two-thirds of the Senators, the national purpose may be frustrated and the peace may be lost. To further such an agreement, therefore, must be a primary concern of every religious and secular group dedicated to a better world order.

Our churches wisely refuse to participate in "politics" in the narrower sense. "Partisan churches" would jeopardize cardinal religious principles and violate our American separation of church and state. Yet, as Dr. Hocking has pointed out, the separation of church and state does not free the churches from the obligation to bring religious principles to bear upon the political sphere as upon every other sphere. Non-partisan political action in this sense is the opportunity and the duty of the churches. Three suitable methods have been evolved or proposed towards this end.

Denominational agencies are encouraging church members, as religious citizens, to express their convictions on international organization to their representatives in Congress. The Methodist Crusade is being followed this month by the Baptist World Order Crusade and the Congregational World Order Compact. These in turn will be followed by programs of the Disciples, Unitarian, and other denominations. The programs differ in method and timing, but they reinforce each other in bringing, over a period of months, thousands upon thousands of personal messages to Senators and Representatives.

Secondly, Catholic, Jewish and Protestant leaders have in turn spoken out for the early establishment of a Council of the United Nations, as an intermediate step on the road to a general international organization. The church leaders recognize that experience is the most convincing argument for peace machinery.

Thirdly, the proposal has been made by both Protestant and Catholic churchmen that religious citizens urge the leaders of both parties to incorporate basic principles of *Pattern for Peace* in convention platforms. Such a step they believe, would help to lift basic aims of foreign policy above party controversy and to secure greater national unity for collaboration after the elections.

In the period just ahead, the accent is on action.



## International Friendship

The importance of international friendship for world order was stressed by the Archbishop of York in his Easter-eve broadcast to the American people:

I have brought a message of affectionate goodwill to you from Great Britain and of admiration for all you are doing and to tell you how eager and strong is the wish in the heart of the British people that the bonds of friendship which exist between the British Commonwealth and the United States may be strengthened through our efforts in the common cause; so that when the war is over and peace has been restored we, with Russia, China and our other allies, may work together in close cooperation for the peace and happiness of the human race. . . . Pacts and treaties in themselves will be quite useless unless they are built on the genuine goodwill of the people on whose behalf they are made. Cooperation based on self-interest may for a time be very valuable, but it does not stand the strain of misunderstanding unless it is the expression of mutual respect and friendship.

## United Nations Council

The need for a Council of the United Nations is being given increasing emphasis by religious leaders. Both Protestant and Catholic leaders have recently spoken for this objective. The Post War World Committee of the Catholic Association for International Peace said in March:

A United and Associated Nations Council should be formed speedily to plan a post war political program which takes into account the rights and responsibilities of individuals and private organizations, and to guide the post war world during the period in which a permanent world organization is being set up. The United Nations Council should include as many nations as possible. The Congress of the United States should pledge American membership in a world organization planned and directed by a United Nations Post War Council.

Peace and prosperity in our world society require a world organization which will direct nations in common courses of action. The United Nations, now organized to fight for peace, must be continued after the war to work purposefully for peace. That over 40 nations are participating in the International Labor Organization, the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration and in the Interim Commission of the Permanent Food Organization is evidence of a widespread appreciation of international collaboration as the appropriate means of doing things on a world scale. The United States which is a member of these world associations can do more than any other single power to forward the establishment and work of a United Nations Council and prepare the way for the peace settlement. A just peace even more than a just war is the fruit of a common hope, a common determination, a common sacrifice and a common labor.

The creation of a United Nations Council now will demonstrate that men and their political leaders sincerely desire to collaborate in creating a permanent world organization for the achievement of peace and that they know how to bring it about.

Some 1250 leading Protestant clergymen and laymen have joined in the following appeal, made public on April 24:

We, the undersigned, believe that the time is at hand when a concrete beginning should be made to realize the Moscow Declaration and Connally Resolution which recognized "the necessity of establishing at the earliest practicable date a general international organization. . . ." We need now at least the nucleus of such a general international organization in order to promote unity of political and diplomatic decision by the principal United Nations and consistency with such aspects of the moral law as have been proclaimed by the Atlantic Charter and other declarations of the United Nations.

If, however, international organization is to serve its purpose of achieving just and durable peace, it must from the beginning be planned to become universal in membership and curative and creative in purpose.

We subscribe wholeheartedly to the affirmation . . . that not only must there be "the political framework for a continuing collaboration of the United Nations," but that "such collaboration should, as quickly as possible, be universal." We also believe, with that Commission, that the international organization which is established should have not merely the task of seeking physical security but responsibility to deal regularly with conditions which contain the seeds of future war. It should be designed to seek the change of treaty conditions which may develop to be unjust and provocative of war; to bring within the scope of international agreement those economic and financial acts of nations which have widespread international repercussions; to promote the attainment of autonomy as a genuine goal for dependent peoples; and to assure for people everywhere a regime of religious and intellectual liberty.

We appeal to the President, the Congress and the people of the United States to work vigorously for practical steps which will initiate such an organization.

## Educational Aid

Representative T. William Fulbright said on May 2 that the conference of Allied education leaders which met recently in London had agreed tentatively on the creation of an agency to reestablish educational facilities in liberated Europe. The proposed organization would follow the pattern of UNRRA. International action for educational rehabilitation was stressed by the World Alliance at its annual meeting last November.



## The Problem of War

*A section of the Episcopal Message of the Council of Bishops of the Methodist Church to the General Conference, delivered by Bishop Arthur J. Moore of Atlanta, on April 26 in Kansas City, Mo.*

The discussion of the origin and conduct of war is not within the scope of this address, but when the very foundations of the earth are being destroyed, it would be cowardly for the Church to fold its hands and wait for others to seek for the way of peace. This task demands the spirit of humility and soberness. We do not know all that needs to be done and we will probably make mistakes, but into the hands of the ecumenical Church has been thrust the opportunity of changing the climate of the world from hate and aggression to peace and cooperation. The hideous horrors of war compel us to action. The Church is the one body that cannot stand aside and declare world affairs are not its concern. Its chief business is the assertion of truth, the dissipation of hate, the instruction of the hearts and minds of man.

The Methodist Church is historically and intrinsically a part of that glorious inner life of the Nation that is the true "spirit of America." We must not forego our responsibility for the preservation of this continuing spiritual heritage. As Methodists we reaffirm our devotion to the obligations of Christian citizenship and we pray for the guidance of God upon the President of the United States and those who are associated with him in places of authority.

While we are gathered here in peace and quietness, multiplied thousands of the bravest young men and women of our church are on battle fields in the ends of the earth struggling to preserve our liberty and protect our Christian ideals. By their suffering and sacrifice they are maintaining the principles of democracy and preserving the freedom of mankind. We can only pay our debt to them by laboring more courageously to build a world in which the sacrifices called for in war are no longer necessary. We pray for the preservation of their lives, the maintenance of their Christian ideals, a speedy and victorious end to this cruel war and their early return to our homes and churches.

One of the most inspiring chapters in the history of Methodism is being written by more than 1,500 of our ministers who are in the armed forces as chaplains. In the air, on the sea, and on the land, wherever our sons and daughters struggle to preserve our freedom, these faithful men are there to offer the claims, challenge and consolation of the Christian Gospel. They are exercising a powerful influence for good and by their witness and work helping to make secure and strong the Church of tomorrow.

The Methodist Church has declared its purpose to defend those of our number who cannot in good conscience participate in war. We will not be driven from that position by hysteria which always develops in a

time of struggle. The principles of democracy and the teaching of the Christian religion accord to men freedom of conscience. The conscientious refusal to bear arms is for some persons a natural expression of their desire for peace on earth. To all members of The Methodist Church who as conscientious objectors seek exemption from military service, the church must continue to give its moral protection.

The present war is in large measure the result of World War I. The outcome of that war poisoned international relations and left nations snarling at each other as they grew more and more resentful. Our present distress is largely the harvest of our blindness and selfishness in that hour of opportunity. Much of the world tragedy of the past two decades has come because of our refusal to take our part in the task of international collaboration. Had we helped to organize the nations on the basis of friendly service, we might have given humanity a new lease on life.

We have looked to international diplomacy to prevent war and it has failed. We have trusted in international law to reduce the horrors and eliminate in a measure the cruelties of war, but war grows only more hideous and destructive. The time is at hand when the Church must rise in its might and demand an international organization which will make another war impossible.

The moral judgment of civilized peoples is demanding an ordered, righteous and effective system of world administration. Such an organization could prevent war and ensure justice so that eventually there will be developed among the nations such an abhorrence of war that no self-respecting nation would dare commit such a crime. The strength of such an Association or League will lie not alone in what it does, but also in what it symbolizes, for it will embody the ideal of international relationships in which frankness and cooperative action take the place of secret intrigues and international rivalry.

It does not seem necessary for the nations to give assent to one political or economic system. The diversity of interests and the different stages of cultural progress preclude the possibility of a uniform body of domestic policies. The remedy is not to be found in welding the nations into one soulless mass, but in shaping the relations between them so that they may discover the road whereon they may travel together in friendship and security.

The organization set up to prevent war and preserve peace may at first necessarily include only the victorious powers, but, if so, exclusion of defeated nations must be only temporary. Some healing word must be



said above the expediencies and interests of the victors. To leave outside the other nations with their millions of struggling, aspiring people is to have the world go groping on in the dark.

The victorious nations, having conquered their foes, must conquer themselves and think of them no longer as foes, but as friends. The leadership which the world waits, must display a heart that sympathizes with suffering and a will determined to find a way to overcome the seemingly insuperable difficulties of readjustment. For this task the Christian Church was born, and it cannot in good conscience give its allegiance to any ideal less than this.

## International Program

*Part II of the plan adopted by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and made public on April 11, presents important steps towards world order.*

The program for the establishment of a lasting peace must provide for the continuing cooperation of the nations of freedom in the three great areas of their common interest, security, livelihood and justice. This cooperation does not involve the creation of a world government, but the acceptance of definite obligations to work together under agreed conditions and within the limits set by them. The basic principles are those of the Atlantic Charter and the other pronouncements of the United Nations.

### 1. Security

The program for the prevention of war has already been set forth in the Four-Nation Declaration. . . . Steps should now be taken to insure the speedy realization of these plans. These steps should include:

1. The calling of a United Nations Commission either to establish the "General International Organization," referred to in the Moscow Agreement, or to serve provisionally in that capacity.
2. The transformation of the wartime alliances of the United Nations into an organization for peace. The initial organization for policing will grow out of the military situation at the end of the war and will remain a primary responsibility of the Great Powers. It should be recognized, however, that this is a purely temporary necessity. The program for international security in the future will have to be worked out by the United Nations as a whole. For this purpose the General International Organization will need the advice of civilian as well as military experts. The problem is one which will continually change with the progress of science. Therefore, this commission of experts should advise the United Nations concerning all the technical questions involved in armament and disarmament.

The unilateral action and regional understandings are only valid when in accord with the measures taken by the General International Organization and con-

When the fighting actually ceases, vast sections of the earth will need steel, stone, lumber and brick. We must play a worthy and sacrificial part in the physical rehabilitation of the world. Infinitely more difficult will be the spiritual rebuilding, which will demand all we possess of insight, faith, patience and courage. World reconstruction must be placed on a higher plane than mere material reconstruction. We of the church must protest against any attempt to put a millstone of materialism about the neck of the next generation and stoutly resist the adoption of immature and unchristian plans for world reconstruction. The helping hand must everywhere supplant the mailed fist.

form to the basic principles of the Atlantic Charter which bind the United Nations to "respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they live," and to make "no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the people concerned."

We believe that the United States has much at stake in the maintenance of these foundation principles, and the American Federation of Labor pledges its full support in any steps to supplant tendencies toward unilateralism with genuine cooperative action which will broaden and deepen the mutual relations already achieved by the United Nations.

### 2. Livelihood

The program for economic and social welfare, like that in the sphere of security, falls naturally into two parts: the provision for relief and rehabilitation during the war and transitional period, and the provision for long-range plans and policies capable of development under the conditions of peace.

1. **Emergency measures arising from the war.**—The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) is deserving of universal support. It should have an adequate representation from labor on its staff. The aim of relief should be to make it possible for the peoples who have suffered in the war to become self-supporting. We do not believe that either they or the United States would profit from continuing charity after the restoration of normal conditions.

2. **Long-range planning.**—A certain number of international functional agencies will be necessary to insure the consistent development of sound economic policies in a world which will be increasingly responsive to the advances in technology owing to scientific discovery and invention. The frontiers of the world of



labor are those of economic as well as political geography, and the economic barriers to freedom of intercourse must not be permitted to block the pathway to prosperity. These problems by their very nature cannot be solved in any single set of laws or agreements because the conditions with which they deal are forever changing. It is therefore necessary to maintain and create the pertinent institutions for dealing with them.

a. The International Labor Organization (ILO) has abundantly justified its existence. It should be enlarged and strengthened as an instrument for raising the standard of living of peoples in all countries and for safeguarding the rights of the working people.

b. The Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) which has now been planned receives the full support of labor. There should be parallel organizations to deal with problems of health and social welfare, such as the promotion of child welfare, the prevention of epidemics and of the traffic in drugs and for immoral purposes.

c. In the world of commerce and industry there should be agencies to deal with such problems as (1) the stabilization of foreign exchange, (2) communications and transport on land, sea and in the air, (3) the commercial policy including cartels, (4) fiscal policies and foreign investments, (5) access to natural resources and raw material, (6) to coordinate these activities there should be a United Nations Economic Organization with consultative and advisory functions.

In each case there should be provision for objective studies of the facts which should be made available to the general public.

### 3. Justice

The program for the re-establishment and development of justice in international relations in the post-war world has a sound foundation in international law, but must be strengthened and developed with the growth of the common interests in the substitution of pacific means of settlement for force and violence among nations.

1. The Permanent Court of International Justice should be adopted as the supreme judicial tribunal of the international organization.

2. The scope of arbitration should include the settlement of economic, as well as political, disputes.

3. For the settlement of political disputes conciliation is a ready and approved method for which the permanent political structure of the United Nations should be used as well as special bodies for specific problems.

4. For the safeguarding of human rights, there should be a permanent international institute to study and report to both international and national bodies on the problem of developing the principles and procedures of international justice with respect to groups or individuals.

## International Labor Code

*The proposed declaration of the International Labor Organization presented to the ILO meeting in Philadelphia on April 29.*

The general conference of the International Labor Organization, meeting in its twenty-sixth session in Philadelphia, hereby adopts the present declaration of the aims and purposes of the International Labor Organization and of the principles which should inspire the policy of its members.

The conference reaffirms the fundamental principles on which the organization is based and, in particular, that labor is not a commodity; that freedom of expression and of association are essential to sustained progress; that poverty anywhere constitutes a danger to prosperity everywhere, and that accordingly the war against want, while it requires to be carried on with unrelenting vigor within each nation, equally requires continuous and concerted international effort in which the representatives of workers and employers, enjoying equal status with those of governments, join with them in free discussion and democratic decision with a view to the promotion of the common welfare.

Believing that experience has fully demonstrated the truth of the statement in the preamble to the constitution of the International Labor Organization that lasting peace can be established only if it is based on social

justice, the conference affirms that all human beings irrespective of race, creed or sex, have the right to pursue both their material well-being and their spiritual development in conditions of freedom and dignity, of economic security and equal opportunity, that the attainment of the conditions in which this shall be possible must constitute the central aim of national and international policy, and that all policies and measures, in particular those of an economic and financial character, must be judged in this light and accepted only insofar as they may be held to promote and not to hinder the achievement of this fundamental objective.

The conference declares that it is accordingly a responsibility of the International Labor Organization to scrutinize all international economic and financial policies and measures in the light of this fundamental objective and that in discharging the tasks entrusted to it the International Labor Organization may consider all relevant economic and financial factors and include in its decisions and recommendations any provisions which it considers appropriate.

Among the matters to which urgent attention should be given by the International Labor Organization, the



conference attaches special importance to the following:

The maintenance of full employment and the raising of standards of living.

The employment of workers in the occupations in which they can have the satisfaction of giving the fullest measure of their skill and attainments and make their greatest contribution to the common well-being and, as a means to the attainment of this end, the provision under adequate guarantees for all concerned, of facilities for training and the transfer of labor, including migration for employment and settlement.

The application of policies in regard to wages and earnings, hours and other conditions of work calculated to insure a just share of the fruits of progress to all, and the assurance of a minimum living wage to all in need of such protection.

The effective recognition of the right of collective bargaining, the cooperation of management and labor in the continuous improvement of productive efficiency and the collaboration of workers and employers in the initiation and application of social and economic measures.

The extension to the whole population of social security measures providing a basic income in case of inability to work or to obtain work, and providing comprehensive medical care.

The provision of adequate protection for the life and health of workers in all occupations.

Provisions for child welfare, and maternity protection, and the provision of adequate nutrition, housing and facilities for recreation and culture.

The assurance of equality of educational and vocational opportunity.

Confident that the fuller and broader utilization of the world's productive resources necessary for the achievement of the objectives set forth in this declaration can be secured by effective international and national action, including, for example, measures to avoid severe economic fluctuations, to maintain consumption at a high level, to insure the productive investment of all savings, to promote the economic and social advancement of the less developed regions of the world, to assure greater stability in world prices of primary products and to promote a high and steady volume of international trade, the conference pledges the full cooperation of the International Labor Organization with such international bodies as may be intrusted with a share of the responsibility for this great task and for the promotion of the health, education and well-being of all peoples.

The conference affirms that the principles set forth in this declaration are fully applicable to all peoples everywhere and that, while the manner of their application must be determined with due regard to the stage of social and economic development reached by each people, their progressive application to peoples who are still dependent, as well as to those who have already achieved self-government, is a matter of concern to the whole civilized world.

## Unity for World Order

In his speech of April 27, Governor Thomas E. Dewey testified to the "overwhelming agreement upon the major objectives" on the part of the American people. He listed three objectives:

To carry on the war to total crushing victory, and in so doing to drive home to the aggressor nations a lesson that will never be forgotten;

To organize in cooperation with other nations a structure of peace backed by adequate force to prevent future wars;

To establish and maintain in our relations with other nations conditions calculated to promote world-wide economic stability not only for the sake of the world, but also to the end that our own people may enjoy a high level of employment in an increasingly prosperous world.

## Religious Liberty

Point two of *Pattern for Peace* received concrete support from Protestant leaders when members of the Joint Committee on Religious Liberties of the Federal Council of Churches and the Foreign Missions Conference presented the following statement on religious freedom to Secretary of State Cordell Hull on April 22:

We recognize the dignity of the human person as the image of God. We therefore urge that the civic rights which derive from that dignity be set forth in the agreements into which our country may enter looking toward the promotion of world order and be vindicated in treaty arrangements and in the functions and responsibilities assigned to international organizations. States should assure their citizens freedom from compulsion and discrimination in matters of religion. This and the other rights which inhere in man's dignity must be adequately guarded; for when they are impaired all liberty is jeopardized. More specifically, we urge that:

The right of individuals everywhere to religious liberty shall be recognized and, subject only to the maintenance of public order and security, shall be guaranteed against legal provisions and administrative acts which would impose political, economic or social disabilities on grounds of religion.

Religious liberty shall be interpreted to include freedom to worship according to conscience and to bring up children in the faith of their parents; freedom for the individual to change his religion; freedom to preach, educate, publish, and carry on missionary activities; and freedom to organize with others and to acquire and hold property for these purposes.

To safeguard public order and to promote the well-being of the community, both the State, in providing for religious liberty, and the people, in exercising the rights thus recognized, must fulfill reciprocal obligations: The State must guard all groups, both minority and majority, against legal disabilities on account of religious belief; the people must exercise their rights with a sense of responsibility and with charitable consideration for the rights of others.



## Denominational Campaigns for World Order

A significant recent development in the work of the churches for world order is the organization of denominational campaigns in support of fairly specific objectives. The highly successful Crusade for a New World Order conducted by the Council of Bishops of the Methodist Church during the past four months has already been reported in the NEWS LETTER. This campaign, carried on under Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam's leadership, has had as its primary objective the mobilization of Methodist support for international collaboration, in the form of letters to Congressmen. Mass meetings, house-to-house visitations, posters and leaflets have been used to further this end.

Furthermore, a special committee of twenty-one presented to the General Conference of the Methodist Church on May 3rd a plan for a \$25,000,000 postwar reconstruction program. The proposed "Crusade For Christ" would continue the emphasis of the world order campaign as one of its five major objectives:

1. To establish an international organization for permanent peace.
2. To rebuild church property and rehabilitate peoples in war areas.
3. A churchwide evangelistic campaign.
4. Cultivation of Christian stewardship.
5. To increase enrollment in Sunday schools and related organizations.

A second denominational program, the World Order Compact of the Congregational Christian Churches was described in the April NEWS LETTER. The purpose is to provide an opportunity for church members to express their commitment to international collaboration and their support for American participation in an effective international organization. For this purpose the Mayflower Compact has been adapted and will be signed by congregations in some thousand churches across the United States. A special service of dedication will be held at the General Council on June 25. A further purpose of this denominational program is to stimulate letters to Senators and convention delegates concerning American foreign policy. Copies of the *Six Pillars of Peace* and *Pattern For Peace* are being sent to all pastors participating in the denominational compact.

A third denominational program is the World Order Crusade of the Northern Baptist Convention. This was launched on April 30 and celebrated in local churches on May 7, which was observed as World Order Sunday. Pastors were asked to preach upon an appropriate text and to provide convenient means for members of the congregation to express their views on world order to their Senators and to the Secretary of State. World Order Sunday was the start of a letter-writing campaign in support of world organization. The aim of the campaign was described in the "Call to Action" as follows:

The purpose of the Crusade is to encourage in local churches the study of problems relating to world organization and to request every adult Northern Baptist to express his convictions on this matter to those whose influence will definitely count in fashioning the post war world order.

Donald B. Cloward, executive secretary of the Baptist Council on Christian Social Progress, said in connection with the nation-wide program:

An aroused Christian citizenry is beginning to insist that the post-war world, which is being purchased at such staggering cost in lives and property, must be of such a character as to merit that sacrifice. There is a growing conviction within the Church that only the profound insights of a Christian ethic can save tomorrow's world from further disintegration. . . . Political action that has the power to lay waste a world for generations to come becomes the profound concern of the Christian Church. The hour is later than we think. The broad power of tomorrow's world is in the making today. Christians of America will be heard and heeded in Washington, if, by the thousands, they lift their voices now to say that it is their profound conviction that the peace to be lasting must conform to some world pattern and be based on Christian insights.

Another denominational program is being conducted by the Disciples of Christ under the leadership of a special committee. The program was initiated some weeks ago at a special conference on "The Church and the New World Mind" at Drake University. During April and May, evening sessions in each of the twelve Disciples' convocations are being devoted to the findings of the Drake Conference. Many state and district conventions are arranging their programs around the issues raised at the Conference. These will also be the subject of study in more than one hundred young peoples' conferences and many adult conferences this summer. The theme will also be in the forefront at the international convention to be held at Columbus, Ohio, in October. Plans are under way to promote a study in every church in the brotherhood. A study guide on the Drake lectures is to be used in this denominational program.

A resolution is to be presented at the annual meeting of the American Unitarian Association by the Unitarian War Service Council proposing that a denominational compact for world order be signed on the Sunday before Armistice Day. Other denominations are considering nationwide programs comparable to those already launched.

These denominational programs vary considerably according to the varying traditions and organization of the different denominations. But they have the same fundamental objective, the timely expression of the world order convictions of church members, and they reenforce each other in their educational and political effect.



## Campaign for Council

The Women's Action Committee for Victory and Lasting Peace is launching a campaign for a "United Nations Council *Now*." The Committee has designated May 18th as United Nations Council Day. On that day the member bodies of the Women's Action Committee and cooperating groups will publicize, through newspaper editorials, radio and Round Table discussions, the importance of a United Nations Council *now* to act as an international planning commission for future world organization. Groups participating in the campaign are urged in addition to write on May 18th to the President, the Secretary of State, their Senators and Congressmen pressing for a United Nations Council *now*.

## Greater Miami Institute

The Greater Miami Institute on Pan-American Affairs, one in the series of Win the War—Win the Peace conferences, was held in Miami and Miami Beach, Fla., on April 12, 13 and 14. The Church Peace Union and World Alliance cooperated with the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace, Council for Democracy, Citizens for Victory, United Nations Association, International Free World Association, and Council Against Intolerance in America. These national sponsors were aided by 45 local sponsors. The administrative activities were handled by Mrs. Clark Stearns, Chairman of the Pan-American League. On the final day of the Institute a parade was held in Miami to commemorate Pan-American Day, the 54th anniversary of the founding of the Pan-American Union. Consular officials stationed in Miami on behalf of Pan-American countries were present at the official dinner given by the Pan-American League at the Urmey Hotel. The participants in the programs and round tables were: Dr. William M. Agar, Dr. Henry A. Atkinson, Dr. Rafael Belaunde, the Rev. Richard Evans, Mrs. Frances Grant, Dr. Walter D. Head, Dr. John I. Knudson, Prof. William M. Lewis, the Hon. Claude D. Pepper, the Hon. James P. Pope, Dr. C. E. Silcox, Dr. Carl Hermann Voss, Dr. Russell Williams and Mrs. Rachelle S. Yarden. Meetings were held in both Miami and Miami Beach at the Dade County Courthouse, the White Temple, the Urmey Hotel, the Miami Beach High School, and the Chase Avenue Band Shell.

## Personal

Dr. Robert C. Dexter, member of the Executive Committee of the World Alliance for International Friendship and Executive Director of the Unitarian Service Committee, was recently appointed as the War Refugee Board's special representative in Lisbon.

## SUGGESTED READING

**How New Will the Better World Be?** by Carl Becker. Knopf, New York. \$2.50.

Professor Becker is a practical idealist who understands the limitations as well as the possibilities of historical development. His lucid and logical presentation of post-war conditions and problems is a real guide to a strategy for world order. In particular it is a sound antidote for perfectionist illusions about the peace. It needs to be read by leaders in international work and by study groups.

**The International Law of the Future.** *International Conciliation*. No. 399. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 405 West 117th Street, New York 27. 5 cents.

The full text of the important proposals by some 200 eminent Americans and Canadians. (See *principles in April NEWS LETTER*.)

**Economics and Peace** by Herbert Feis. Foreign Policy Association, 22 East 38th Street, New York 16. 25 cents.

The April 1 Foreign Policy Report presents a good summary of basic economic issues by the former Adviser to the Department of State.

**Behind the Open Door** by Foster R. Dulles. May be secured from the Institute of Pacific Relations, 1 East 54th Street, New York 22. 40 cents.

Professor Dulles of Ohio State has written an excellent popular account of our Far Eastern relations during the past century. Published jointly by the I.P.R. and the Webster Publishing Co. for use in schools, the pamphlet is valuable for a wide variety of study groups.

**Postwar Problems of the Pacific and World Organization**, edited by E. Guy Talbott. International Center, 68 Post Street, San Francisco 4, Cal. 25 cents.

Eight addresses delivered before four institutes held on the Pacific Coast in March.

**You and Your Congress** by Volta Torrey. Morrow, New York. \$3.00.

The basic thesis of this journalist's book on Congressional elections and politics is that the price of peace and the Four Freedoms is "more and better participation in politics."

**Documents on American Foreign Relations** edited by Leland M. Goodrich and Marie J. Carroll. World Peace Foundation, 40 Mt. Vernon Street, Boston. \$3.75.

A good reference book of official statements covering the period from July 1942 to June 1943.

**Searchlight on Peace Plans** by Edith Wynner and Georgia Lloyd. Dutton, New York. \$5.00.

Summaries of peace plans and federation efforts before and since the first World War. The volume's emphasis is on federalism, and it may be of interest to those committed to that principle. Religious proposals for world order are neglected.



From:  
The Commission on a Just and Durable Peace  
Federal Council of Churches  
297 Fourth Avenue  
New York 10, N. Y.

(For Publication in Morning Papers, Friday, May 19, 1944)

NEW YORK, May 18 -- A second national study conference such as convened two years ago at Delaware, Ohio, will be held next January to clarify the mind of the Protestant churches in the United States regarding the moral, political and economic foundations of an enduring peace.

The decision to hold the conference was made by the Commission on a Just and Durable Peace and announced today after it had been submitted to the Executive Committee of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America. The plans for the conference won universal approval of the heads of Protestant communions comprising the Federal Council, which has a constituency of 25,000,000 persons and embraces virtually 85 per cent of Protestantism in this country.

The Commission, headed by Chairman John Foster Dulles, and instituted by the Federal Council of Churches in 1940, will name a committee to arrange a three day conference which probably will be held January 16-19, 1945, at a place yet to be selected. Following the pattern of the Delaware conference it is planned to seek appointment of delegates by responsible denominational bodies and allied religious organizations including state and city councils of churches. The Delaware conference was attended by 377 delegates.

It is expected that the study conference will review the developments in the international situation with a view to determining the future course of the church forces in bringing the maximum influence to bear for a just and durable peace based on spiritual prin-







ciples. In this effort it probably will examine the Commission's proposals of concrete and detailed actions in the future to assure a course in complete accord with the thought of a widely representative group of Protestant leaders.

The Delaware conference, which approved Guiding Christian Principles as its concept of the moral law for a just and durable peace, was held in March, 1942, only a few months after the United States entered the world war. Since that time the world situation has changed radically.

The Protestant church forces have evidenced their concern for the turn of events from time to time through statements of the Commission and others in which both clergymen and laymen leaders have joined.

The most recent was a petition to the President, Congress and people of the United States signed by 1,251 religious leaders urging immediate steps be taken to create the nucleus of a world organization.

Previously the Commission presented to President Roosevelt a statement that its constituency will not support a peace which ignores moral principles. It urged steps be taken to endow the world organization with responsibilities that are curative and creative, not merely repressive as outlined in the Six Pillars of Peace, the political propositions flowing from the Guiding Christian Principles. The Six Pillars were enunciated by the Commission a year ago and have won wide approval not only from religious bodies and political leaders in the United States but in the British Commonwealth of Nations and other countries.



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Editors: The following release is based on a statement which will be published in Post War World, bi-monthly bulletin published by the staff of the Commission on a Just and Durable Peace in the June issue. It is the latest in a series on post-war problems by distinguished religious leaders, published by Post War World.

Luman J. Shafer  
297 Fourth Avenue  
New York 10, N. Y.

(For Publication in Morning Papers, Thursday, June 1.)

New York, May 31 -- The peace of Europe and consequent future peace of the world is dependent on a firm but not vindictive treatment of Germany by the victorious Allies, said a Christian study group composed of prominent educators and churchmen, both clergymen and laymen, in a statement made public today.

"While corrective and precautionary measures are taken to end the menace of Nazism and militarism in Germany, efforts should be made to enable the people of Germany to find for themselves the necessary economic conditions for a good life," the statement added.

The Protestant group, under the leadership of Dr. John C. Bennett, professor of Christian Theology and Ethics, Union Theological Seminary, was called together by the Commission on a Just and Durable Peace to make an independent study of Europe in the postwar era with particular reference to Germany. In the statement, prepared after weeks of study, and for which they are solely responsible, the group stated that the defeat of Germany should be followed by an immediate forced disarmament, that Germany should restore stolen property and aid in rebuilding what she has destroyed. It added that neither the economic stability of Europe as a whole nor the preparation of the people of Germany for freedom and peace would be served by extracting reparations from her over a long period.

- more -







The punishment of those most responsible for such acts of terror as the mass slaughter of the people in conquered countries and the systematic extermination of the Jews of Europe, is an elementary demand of justice, stated the group. Declaring that crimes have been committed for which no conceivable punishment seems adequate, the group expressed belief that "such punishment should be limited to those whose responsibilities are central and not extend to the soldiers who were implicated because they carried out orders. Some form of temporary segregation might be devised for those who were mere instruments in crime. For the United Nations to engage in a long continued program of cold-blooded mass executions would debauch the world."

In addition to Dr. Bennett, the members of the group, who as individuals signed the statement, were Dr. R. H. Edwin Espy, executive secretary, Student Division, National Council, Y. M. C. A.; Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick, Minister, The Riverside Church; Professor William Ernest Hocking of Harvard University; Dr. Rufus Jones, emeritus professor of philosophy, Haverford College; Dr. William Allen Neilson, president emeritus, Smith College; Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr, professor of applied Christianity, Union Theological Seminary; Dr. O. Frederick Nolde, dean of graduate school, Lutheran Theological Seminary, Mt. Airy, Pa.; Dr. Henry Pitney Van Dusen, president-elect, Union Theological Seminary and Dr. Arnold Wolfers, professor of international relations, Yale University.

A necessary condition for world peace is a united policy with respect to Europe, the group emphasized, adding, "If Europe is divided into independent spheres of influence without a significant agreement between the United States, Britain and Russia in the framework of a world organization, it will once again be the battleground, first in political struggles for power and then in war."







"A hopeful policy for Europe as a whole must include a plan that is designed to restore the people of Germany to health and sanity."

In considering a policy for Germany the group delineated two choices: a policy that will prepare the German people for a constructive part in European life ten years from now, or one, the chief effect of which will be to keep Germany a center of infection at the heart of Europe.

"It would be politically easy at first to reduce Germans to a state of virtual imprisonment but it would be impossible to keep the prison doors shut for long," said the group. It pointed to the experience of the last war to support its contention that mere repression would assure a spirit of resentment to the point of madness within Germany and "sooner or later an abnormal people would be let loose upon the world."

The Protestant group, in setting forth a Christian approach to the problem cited the agreement of the two signatories to the Atlantic Charter that they "will endeavor, with due respect for their existing obligations, to further the enjoyment by all states, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access, on equal terms, to the trade and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity."

The group asserted this promise to vanquished as well as victors still stands and that those responsible for the policy of the United Nations should hold to it. "An impoverished Germany will continue to be a menace to the peace of the world," said the group. "Some method must be found to prevent German re-armament without depriving Germany of her industry. The permanent destruction of German industry would not only impoverish Germany but also lower the European standard of living."







It will be necessary to remove from power the leaders of National Socialism together with their accomplices among the industrialists, the military class and the reactionary landowners, said the report. "But the cleansing of Germany - both its public life and its soul - from the poison of National Socialism must be primarily the work of Germans."

The group stated that it is the special responsibility of the Christian Church in the United States to prepare the minds of the people of the nation for right relations with the German people after the war. "However one-sided may be the responsibility for the events which led directly to this war and for the horrors that have accompanied it, all nations share responsibility for the deeper evils of which they are symptoms. The sense of common guilt that Christians must feel when they contemplate the total crisis of our times will alone make possible reconciliation with the German people in the future. The Church should recognize the need for discipline in the peace in the interest of justice, but it should not despair of the people of any nation."

The group report answered the idea that the division of Germany would end any future war ambitions by declaring that such action would heighten German nationalism and would probably lead to the development of the fiercest irredentism that has ever afflicted Europe. It said the dismemberment of Germany into independent states, unless provision were made for economic unity, would strangle the economic life of the Germans and impair the prosperity of Europe, and added:

"A political division of Germany which is widely supported by Germans themselves and which preserves economic unity would not be open to the same objections if it were part of a larger federation of European states."



It is a pleasure to have you here.

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For presentation at  
Semi-Annual Meeting  
June 5-7, 1944

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE APPOINTED BY THE TRUSTEES OF THE CHURCH  
PEACE UNION TO STUDY AND RECOMMEND FUTURE POLICY CONCERNING THE  
WORLD ALLIANCE FOR INTERNATIONAL FRIENDSHIP THROUGH THE CHURCHES

1. Plans should be made for a gathering at the earliest practicable moment of such representatives of the International Council as are still available when the war in Europe ends and conditions permit, for the continuation or modification of the present policies is the responsibility of the assembled representatives of the International Council.
2. We recommend that the Trustees of the Church Peace Union present to the United States Council of the World Alliance specific suggestions as to policy, inviting them
  - A. To consider these policies themselves,
  - B. To lay them before the first assembly of the International Council, and if possible
  - C. To submit them to other National Councils for their consideration, study and exchange of opinion even before it is possible to convene the International Council.
3. Study should be made of the most effective means of religious cooperation in the promotion of world peace.
  - A. Present policies of the World Alliance.
    - 1) Each National Council is free to determine its own policy in the religious context of its own nation.
    - 2) It is understood, however, that the National Councils are not always officially identified with existing ecclesiastical organizations.
      - a) In May, 1937, the Executive Committee, meeting in London, passed the following resolution concerning the relation of the World Alliance to the World Council of Churches:
        - (1) "The World Alliance is sincerely interested in the success of the World Council of Churches and sees in it a definite step forward in the development of the Church as an international organ and a power for good in every realm of life. It will seek to maintain close and friendly relations with the Council and will consider at all times such proposals as may be made for co-operative action within the field of its own activities.
        - (2) "While the World Alliance will continue its work as an independent international organization seeking to promote world peace through the Churches it will at the same time, in accordance with its Constitution and custom followed since its founding in 1914, leave free to the constituent Councils to decide their own character and composition. No serious difficulty has arisen at this point over a period of twenty years and nothing has transpired in this year or is likely to



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1. The first step in the process is to identify the problem or issue that needs to be addressed. This involves gathering information and understanding the context of the problem.



"develop in the near future that will make it impossible for the international body of the Alliance to bring together in its fellowship Councils which are directly representative of the Churches and those that are composed of individuals."

- b) From the official report of the Oxford Conference, July 12-26, 1937:

"As a result of the deliberations which then took place, the committee of thirty-five unanimously recommended that each of the two World Conferences at Oxford and Edinburgh adopt the following proposals:

"There are certain ecumenical movements such as the I.M.C., the World Alliance for International Friendship Through the Churches, the W.S.C.F., the Y.M.C.A., the Y.W.C.A., and the Central Bureau for Interchurch Aid, with which the new body should enter into relationship, both in order that the life in them may flow into the churches and that those movements may derive stability and true perspective from the churches. The actual approach to these would need to be determined with regard to the basis and function of each."

- 3) The last reported status of the National Councils.

- a) Officially related to the churches:

England	Luxemburg
Denmark	Norway
Estonia	Spain
Finland	Sweden
Lithuania	Switzerland

- b) No relation to the churches in any official way:

United States	Germany
Albania	Greece
Australia	Holland
Brazil	Italy
Bulgaria	Poland
Canada	Portugal
*France	Rumania
Yugoslavia	

\* (Members of the Alliance from Alsace on the French Committee were appointed officially by their churches, and to follow this, the Lutheran Church in France officially appointed its delegates. The French Council of the Alliance, as such, was not officially related to the French Council of Churches)

- c) Status uncertain:

Belgium  
Japan  
Latvia  
China





The war broke out before the World Council of Churches could become thoroughly organized, and the relationship that might have developed would probably have altered this analysis.

Another factor that must be considered is that in many other countries there are embryonic organizations, such as in Turkey, Egypt, Palestine, etc. India has a strong organization, representative of the major faiths, but this is not related in any way to the World Alliance, although there is an exchange of literature and the Indian Committee is largely supported by the Church Peace Union.

It can hardly be determined at the present time how many Councils still exist, even in skeleton form.

- 4) The present status of the National Councils should be carefully examined with regard to an inclusion of all possible Christian forces in a given nation. Cooperation among Roman Catholic and Protestant leaders in some of the National Councils, notably of Great Britain and the U. S., offers a pattern which might well be followed by other national councils.

- B. While regarding the World Alliance as a going concern and endeavoring to maintain and develop it as such, we may find that the world situation has changed so radically and that the problem before us is so great that we should not allow ourselves to be bound too much by past achievement and existing organization. This may be an excellent time to make a fresh beginning.

From this point of view we should think in terms of the broadest possible cooperation of all religious groups in the world. There are several logical lines of cooperation which may or may not be open to the World Alliance.

- 1) Protestant, along the lines of the World Council of Churches, including the Eastern Orthodox Churches. The difficulty with this approach is that it does not include the Roman Catholic Church.
- 2) Christian. This would be an attempt to gather representatives of all Christian forces in the National Councils - Protestant, Roman Catholic, Eastern Orthodox and others.
- 3) Judeo-Christian. The National Council of the World Alliance in the United States includes Protestants, Roman Catholics and Jews. The Tri-Faith "Pattern for Peace", signed by some fifty





ranking leaders of each of the three faiths in the United States, October 7, 1943, and in which the Church Peace Union played so significant a part, is a landmark in inter-faith cooperation. The principles of Judaism and of Christianity pertinent to the creation of a just world order of enduring peace are so fundamentally at one, and the steps already taken in America are so significant, that it would seem a backward step to move along a line any less inclusive. The participation of the Jews make it clear that cooperation is on the basis of the moral law rather than on that of theology, and therefore might open the way for cooperation with other faiths.

- 4) Inter-Faith, including all the living religions of the world. Desirable as this may seem in theory, it is the judgment of the Committee that it lies outside of the scope of the World Alliance at the present time.
- C. The World Alliance should hold and extend our gains on the front of Jewish-Christian cooperation. Without losing our grasp of the essential pertinent Christian principles, we should hold open the door to wider Inter-Faith cooperation. While the World Alliance develops its work along these lines; the Church Peace Union should at the same time carry forward the work of the World Conference for International Peace Through Religion, developed under the leadership of the late Dr. Shailer Mathews from 1924 to 1937. The work of the two bodies would be both congruous and supplementary, and together they could help bring the global resources of religion to bear upon issues which can now be no less than global.
- D. What we need, therefore, is a definition of the essential pertinent Judeo-Christian principles on which we hope and believe the World Alliance can operate most effectively, and by which, as we work together, we can sound out the leaders of other faiths and welcome the cooperation of all who can work with us on these principles. Our surest clue to these principles seems to us the seven points of the Catholic, Jewish and Protestant Declaration on World Peace already indorsed by some fifty ranking leaders of each of the three Faiths in the United States, and by representatives of Eastern Orthodox Churches in America. Whatever our differences on points of faith, we believe that from our common Judeo-Christian background there is general agreement





on the following essential principles of the moral law pertinent to world peace. We present the seven points here in abbreviated form:

- 1) The moral law of God must govern world order.
- 2) The dignity of the human person as the image of God must be assured by an international declaration of rights, and by positive action of national governments and international organization.
- 3) The rights of oppressed, weak or colonial peoples must be protected within the framework of an organized world community.
- 4) The rights of ethnic, religious and cultural minorities to economic livelihood, equal opportunity for education and cultural development, and political equality must be secured.
- 5) International institutions to achieve peace with justice, based upon equal law, sustained by protective force, must be organized.
- 6) International economic collaboration must assist all states to provide an adequate standard of living for their people, and to end economic monopoly and exploitation by privileged groups and states.
- 7) A just social order must be achieved within each state to provide security for the family, the cooperation of all groups and classes in the common good, a standard of living adequate for self-development and family life, decent conditions of work, and participation by labor in decisions affecting its welfare.

4. We propose, therefore, that this report be submitted to the United States Council of the World Alliance for its consideration, it being understood that we have no desire but for mutual counsel on the great problems which confront us both and that we shall respect the independent judgment and decision of the Council.

Leslie T. Pennington, Chairman.





# NEWS FROM THE OUTPOST

*Americans-in-Britain Outpost of the Committee to Defend America  
by Aiding the Allies*

ALDWYCH HOUSE • LONDON • WC2

Phone: HOLBORN 1138

OCTOBER 15, 1940

LETTER No. 6

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## BRITAIN AS WE FIND IT

### THOROUGHBREDS

ONE young Californian who is flying a Spitfire for the R.A.F. has handled many types of American planes, but he thinks his new "ship" beats them all. "Thoroughbreds," he called them, explaining that "they know exactly what to do in a pinch, just like a thoroughbred horse, and they're built like a battleship."

He told of encounters between Spitfires and obstacles which got in their path on low dives. Usually, he said, the aircraft comes out on top. "Fast. Why, they're so fast," he said, "that it's hard not to be carried forty miles beyond your base before you realize where you are over the checker-board English countryside."

This pilot finds that his German foes have a genuine dread of meeting a Spitfire or a Hurricane. He and his colleagues while on battle patrol often tune their radio sets to the German aircraft wavelength (the Germans also listen to the British planes with their sets) and as they approach they can hear a Nazi pilot suddenly break in with the warning: "Achtung, Spitfires." Whereupon the German formation breaks up and the timid ones make for home.

### WHEN I'M FED UP

THE as yet unsung heroes of the Battle for London are the men and women of the air raid precautions squads. Many have served without pay for a year and met the big test cheerfully and efficiently.

Typical of them is the warden in Chelsea who came up when an American newspaperman was climbing out of debris which had showered on top of him. They began to chat. The correspondent asked him whether he ever got tired of his job.

"Sometimes," replied this doughty Briton. "But when I'm fed up a bit I get a few days off and go minesweeping in the Channel."

### "THE GUNS ARE UP"

"THAT?" grunted the taxi-man scornfully: "That's a fleabite, that is." The flea had bitten off the flank of an office building and had instantaneously chewed its morsel into the component bricks and timbers and spewed the rubbish fan-wise across the pavement. An indecently exposed inner wall showed mantelpieces with grimed but unbroken mirrors and wall-calendars askew.

"You want to see B. Street," said the taxi-man, "and then we'll keep East down to the Docks."

There was pride in his voice; he had something to show his American passengers on B. Street and thereafter. It was not, we soon discovered, the horror of disembowelled buildings, the scarred, blanched, eyeless faces of the standing houses. Hands on the wheel, he jerked his elbow toward the men and women strolling the sidewalk.

"Just walkin' along, see? They're not worryin'."

The Whitechapel Road had had time not only to board up its windows but to think up slogans to paint across them. "Bombed but Unbeaten" was a favourite. We turned into a maze of gray, two-storied side-streets, where the air-raid notices were posted in pairs—English and Yiddish. "They're all poor Jews in-along 'ere," said the taxi-man, edging past a crater. "That was a school, wot we're comin' to now." He slowed down. Someone was pulling from the rubbish a slightly charred, water-soaked, velour-covered music stool.

"The children's all gone away," said the taxi-man vacantly: "Them as wasn't killed." From where we had paused, it seemed a fairly obvious remark. He accelerated with a jerk; we had to crane backwards to appreciate the ambitious new red-white-and-blue lettering of the nearby "Pussy's Butcher" (cat's-meat man).

"Seaman's Hostel." We were skirting Limehouse; through one dreadful new gap in the street we saw the tall cranes of the Docks. Here were the poorest of the poor; those to whom Respectability, Privacy, Decency are not amenities to be taken for granted, but treasures fiercely and strictly to be clutched; where the possession of clean imitation-lace curtains can mean Self-Respect. Here were the littlest, humblest, general stores, marine goods shops and pawnshops; their owners had not chalked the usual gallantries across the weather-boards, in letters only large enough to be read across those narrow streets. No, with a tin of red paint and a big brush for Jerry to read.

*The spout of a big family tea kettle thrusting up between broken bricks. . . . A sodden Nottingham-lace curtain lolling out of a shattered window. . . .*

J. Jones, Fish and Chips, stood in his doorway looking up at the sky. From somewhere came the sound of a fist brought down on a table.

"The guns is up, hear 'em?" said the taxi-man.

We hadn't even heard the sirens through all that gear-shifting. Even though spent shell-fragments can cut clean through a taxi roof, we listened lovingly. There is nothing like an anti-aircraft gun for "saying it," for *expressing*, in really adequate short expletives, one's feelings during such a tour as ours had been. "Take THAT," said a gun just behind us, to whatever was hovering over the low rain-clouds. "And THAT," said another vindictive iron mouth.



We turned into a famous East-End market street, thronged with shoppers.

"Wot are *they* worryin' about, eh?" insisted the taxi-man, jerking his elbow toward the supercilious faces that had begun to liven into grins as the guns spoke louder and faster. A helmeted warden shook his head at a strolling mother and her perambulator; the lines that had formed for the buses waited in patience, peering up at the cryptic cloud-ceiling.

Back to Whitechapel Road. Detour to see a hospital whose name is part of the history of England. "But it's all right! It hasn't been . . . Oh dear me, yes it has; look back." "Drive on to Cripplegate."

"That's an old one," said the taxi-man. "Happened at the beginnin' o' the war, that did." We knew what he meant; the cockney will not wrestle with any such outlandish syllables as *Blitzkreig*, and his "before the war" may mean any time from Munich Week down to the first week of September 1940. We found the shattered pedestal of Milton's statue. Just behind it, serene in rain-varnished bronze, John Milton stood unbroken, upright, his listening eyes turned to the sky.

"Landed on 'is feet, 'e did," said the taxi-driver recklessly. *Wuff*, went the guns. We were back in the City, which is Wall Street and Broad Street. "Danger" said a neatly-lettered sign: "Unexploded Bomb." The roped-off street looked, as usual, unnaturally clean and prim, like a patient ready for the operating table. Its windows glittered . . .

On the way back to the West End we told the taxi-man that we were not merely morbid sightseers.

"Our friends in America don't know. They can't see it. How can they? The censors won't let out the names, the places. We've got to help them *see* it, in spite of that."

He was silent. In the hitch of his shoulders we read the mechanic's scorn of literary tricks. He had unconsciously gestured all our doubts to the surface. *Words?* No, words wouldn't do it.

And then he said a profound thing.

"Now if you could make them *hear* it. . . ." Eyes on the road, but the head jerked up sideways at the good Anger of the Guns, shaking the air, saying it, *saying it*, saving us from our momentary panic.

Listen, you folks back there; listen. The guns are up; listen; don't look too long at what the imagination paints for you, or you'll begin to despair. Don't, above all, start moaning about it. Listen: the guns are up, saying it for us, saying it for *you*. Hear them? They aren't our guns but they are spitting death at our Ene:ny. Up with your hearts, be comforted, be angry: the guns are up!

## EVACUEES

YESTERDAY afternoon the two evacuees to be billeted with me arrived from London after a more or less hazardous journey interrupted by air raids and machine-gunning of trains. I was prepared to take two nervously exhausted and frantic, terror-stricken children to my bosom and had prepared for all contingencies. But about half-past five 26 children herded by the billeting officer marched up the road and two fell out at my gate—sisters they were of 11 and 7, calm, shyly smiling and frankly curious. I showed them to their room and the eldest one's face lit up with pleasure. "Oh," she said, "this is quite the nicest room I've had any time I've been an evacuee."

At that moment Mr. Churchill's wailing banshee began its regular afternoon serenade and I went with the children to the airraid shelter in the kitchen garden. They were highly amused by the rows of cabbages growing on top of the shelter. Questioning revealed the fact that they had been evacuated three times from different areas to which they had been sent from London. The last time they had traveled 10 hours from Cornwall to London, spent practically 48 hours without real sleep in the centre of London where their father worked in a laundry, experienced the intensive and destructive raids on London which had already

begun with their screaming bombs and deafening anti-aircraft fire, and finally they had been evacuated here. My "nervously exhausted and frantic children" were undismayed and calm, the elder one even finding time to correct the younger for a bit of bad grammar and the way she had folded her frock "like a draper's shop."

I put them to bed just as the 8-hour raid began and told them not to worry unless I came for them. The eldest snuggled down under the covers and said quite firmly, "I don't think I shall move in any case."

Having slept through bombs and sirens they rose the next morning, tidied their room and went off to present themselves at a new school, as if the war were on another continent.

## THE SHELTERED LIFE

THERE can be no greater condemnation of modern civilization than London at night. And no praise too high for its millions of inhabitants.

Very few sleep in their beds, they have "gone to ground." They spend their nights in cellars, ground floors, "under the stairs," public shelters, subway stations—all according to locality and specific needs.

In the subways, they lie in sardine ranks, head to wall, feet to white painted line, which is their boundary; they squat on the stairs, in the little corners and sides of passages. They bring blankets, rugs, pillows, cushions, bundles of rags—things that may have started spotless but cannot remain so for long. Where it is allowed, part of the family stays all day to defend the pitch and to protect the possessions. Quiet white-faced adolescents seem the usual mid-dayers.

The noise is a zoo noise, aviary or monkey-house, amiable, continuous, chattering. The trains going in and out seem to affect them not at all. To them safety and lack of danger-noise is worth all the acute discomfort, dirt and, worst of all to the Englishman, publicity.

In one of the poorest districts the local inhabitants found two large connected warehouses, which offered comparative safety. Local organization and ingenuity managed to sleep 15,000 regularly; and this with no official assistance of any kind. Two women appeared as though by magic, took charge, created first-aid posts and kept order. They rule with a rod of iron and are adored. Their first-aid post started with one shilling, which bought iodine, sal volatile and bandages. But they now have tables with an important array of bottles and packets. In a community of this size there are bound to be casualties, quite apart from raids—appendicitis, child-birth, colic, fits—and they are dealt with on the spot whenever possible or when necessary by getting an ambulance. In such places, and there are many of them, the conditions are frightful, sanitation consists of a few buckets, obtained by subscription, the air is foul and there is no heat.

At four in the afternoon you can see the squatters queuing up with their pathetic bundles for the trench shelters in the parks. These consist of a network of tunnels, concreted and with narrow duckboard seats along both sides, and tiny dim lights in the curved roof. The cold after some hours must be terrible and the ventilation consists of the draft which blows in through the open ends.

The desire for safety and companionship has outweighed all else. It's harder to be frightened in public and there is comfort in the knowledge that they are all in the same boat.

Most of it is horrifying and the "No Deep Shelter" brigade will of course escape the just punishment which is falling on the wretched individuals who are forced to lead this strange existence.

The good nature and kindness shown in all types of shelter is incredible. We can only pray that Authority will deal with the situation now that there has been a change of management, and will deal with it quickly. Human nature cannot exist for ever on such a sublime level of patient acceptance.



## HIGH HAT ENGLISHMAN

THIS creature was probably sired from embarrassment out of inferiority complex, no one will ever know for certain now because he is DEAD. He was a creature who lived in decent concealment and constant fear of "making an ass" of himself. Where circumstances permitted he had a dressing-room so that his wife should not see him at the disadvantage of socks, suspenders and shirt only—he was shy enough when fully and carefully clothed.

When the bombs started cr-umpling and he found the only way to carry on was to sleep in public and in very mixed company, he dropped the whole matter of his dignity and became "A Human Being."

America will mourn him, he has been a glorious stand-by for many years, but you can't remain High Hat and put out the fire. We must bury him quietly and decently.

### FROM A LETTER

I am sending you extracts from a letter received by a friend's maid from her daughter:

Dear Mum, Just a line to let you know we are still safe and sound. We had a shocking raid about one o'clock, it seemed as if they were going over us, one German swooped down over these cottages and Bert could see the black cross. Some were brought down in the woods. . . .

We sit on the stairs and hope for the best, but the old place rocks. We never had a raid all day yesterday, Friday we had two and just managed to get home. . . .

If you ever hear anyone saying our Air Force is slow, don't you believe it, they're fine. They go up and fight like hell and fetch them down like ninepins. We always say "Thank God for our boys."

6.30.—Just had another warning. They seem to be getting near, so must run to the stairs. Audrey makes me laugh—she takes the slop pail! . . .

Mon. Morning, 7.—Well, our raid was a washout. Bert said what a tame affair! You should hear the men in the Row—they all watch, it is as good as races to them. . . .

To-day we took cover in the pig's hut—had to crawl in on our hands and knees, we couldn't get out for laughing. . . .

We went up to the churchyard last night. The grave looks very nice now. Mr. Mayne had his service in spite of the raid—they didn't here. Well, I must close now as I can hear a jerry and some guns.

## SIDELIGHTS

CHALKED on a London pavement:—

"Gather ye rosebuds while ye may,  
For time brings only sorrow,  
The girls you might have kissed to-day  
May wear gas masks to-morrow."

★ ★ ★

The answer of a man when an air raid warden told him to take shelter: "I've got to pay for the war. Can't I even look at it?"

★ ★ ★

Heard in a "pub." :—

"When one of them Huns comes over to bomb us he has got to cross the sea and find England. And when he's found England he's got to find Warwickshire, which ain't very big. And when he's found Warwickshire he's got to find Coventry, which ain't big at all. And when he's found Coventry, he don't know where I live."

★ ★ ★

Advertizement for an underground grillroom: "Bomb-proof, smoke-proof, blast-proof, gas-proof and boredom-proof, with air for 800 hours."

A bomb fell in an East End cemetery and dislodged a skeleton, who was caught by a policeman walking away with his tombstone under his arm. "Hey, what's that for?" said the policeman. "Identity-card, mate," said the skeleton.

## THE DUTCH EMPIRE

THE Dutch are not refugees in England. They are refugees from Holland, it is true, but they are here because they can be more useful than they would be if they retired to some part of their distant Empire. And they are self-supporting. It must be remembered that the Dutch Government did what the Petain Government would not do. The Army surrendered (after losing a quarter of its manpower in four days) because it could do nothing else. But Queen Wilhelmina and the Government are continuing the fight with the resources of the Dutch Empire. And every Dutchman is still at war with Germany. It was to make this possible that the Queen herself was brought to England—against her wishes—since her capture would have made the position of the East Indies dangerous.

From London now the enormous Colonial Empire is governed and the East Indies, with a population of nearly 70,000,000, is the source of much raw material vital to Britain and, of course, coveted by Japan. The pre-war colony in Britain was small, only a few thousand, but it has been added to by men who came across the North Sea in every conceivable kind of boat—not to get away from war but to continue it. Conscription has been enforced for all men of military age and soon the Dutch contingent will be a useful part of the Allied Armies. More important up to now has been the work of the Navy. Every ship that was in a state to be moved—finished or unfinished—was brought to England, and the work that has been done has earned the congratulations of the Admiralty and the admiration of the British Navy.

Every report on the situation in occupied Holland suggests that Hitler has found the Dutch indigestible and they are likely to become more intractable when the tide turns. It is encouraging in this time of traitors and fifth columnists, to realize that Prince Bernhard, though a German, has fought with great courage for Holland and has become a leader in whom everyone has confidence.

However mistaken the ostrich policy of the small neutrals may have been, the Dutch, with no military experience in recent generations, have shown since they were invaded a resolution which should give courage in other parts of Europe.

## CHAMBERLAIN

NO statesman ever uttered a truer or sincerer verdict on himself and his career than Mr. Neville Chamberlain in his broadcast speech on the outbreak of war: "Everything that I have worked for, everything that I hoped for, everything I have believed in during my public life has crashed in ruins." It was perhaps even truer than Mr. Chamberlain himself fully realized.

What he had believed in and worked and hoped for during his public career was a gradual and peaceful betterment of his world, the pre-1914 world in which he had been nurtured. What defeated his effort was that that world save in certain deceptively familiar appearances, no longer existed. He meant to remedy the defects which had seeped into and to restore, even increase if possible, the prosperity manifestly draining out of the system of society which had supplied the creed and the material of his material upbringing. But the system had already broken down beyond repair. Even had he had his will, he would have been left tinkering away at something hopelessly outworn.



The full realization of that fact was spared him by the necessity of realizing an even bitterer fact, namely that he would have to wage a foreign war instead of settling down to his program of internal adjustment.

There can be no doubt that when he succeeded Mr. Baldwin in May 1937 he cherished vast schemes of reform within the framework of his world in those conditions of his country's life which were inciting the strife of the classes. In foreign affairs he was neither versed nor particularly interested; and the acute situation that confronted him on entering his Prime Ministry he hoped to allay by somewhat the same methods he intended to apply to the less acute but no less real domestic crisis—conciliation, patience, and fairness in dealing with the impulses to conflict. He dreaded war not only as any humane man would, but as a politician whose highest purposes it threatened to frustrate. Unfortunately he understood the enemy he was forced to fight less well if anything, than the social problem with which he was preparing to cope. He took them to be two quite unrelated things to be treated separately along traditional lines, whereas they were different symptoms of the same thing, a strange universal malady requiring the most novel and drastic treatment.

On the outbreak of war he declared Britain's aim in taking up arms to be the destruction of Hitlerism. That was, and remains, true as far as it went: it did not then, nor does it now, go far enough, and in a very important sense does not go any way at all. His indictment of Hitlerism—the measured outburst of a decent and disappointed man for the "evil things" it had come to connote, bad faith, persecution and oppression, though voicing the feelings of the great majority of his countrymen, by no means voiced all their feelings. The vindication of traditional standards of decency and justice in international affairs was not their only, or perhaps even their major concern. They wanted, while fighting this war, to assure a fulfilment of those high hopes raised during and so grievously deceived after the last war. What use was there in getting rid of Hitler if after him there still persisted gross inequality of opportunity, unemployment, uncertainty, hunger and despair? These things had, when all was said and done, begotten Hitler, and the rotten old system of nineteenth-century capitalism had begotten them.

The system itself, therefore, as well as Hitler, Mr. Chamberlain's countrymen felt, had to go. They no longer believed, like him, that it could be satisfactorily patched up, however conscientiously the task was attempted, because they regarded it as fatally unsound and unworkable. They had lost faith in the licentious doctrine of private property on which it rested, in the virtues of unrestricted competition by which it operated. They gravely doubted whether the uncontrolled right of money to seek profits wherever its anonymous owners listed and to be protected in those profits comprized the duty of the State or was indeed any longer compatible with the general well-being of its members. They demanded a society governed by more virtuous, generous and broadly communal principles than the old rule of individual self-interest combined with collective irresponsibility, and in its governors a more positive sense of obligation discouraging to the indifference, self-satisfaction, urbane cynicism and unimaginativeness so long too familiar spectacles in high places.

With that discredited system and its glaring flaws the public mind, not altogether fairly, associated the name of Mr. Chamberlain. The kind of betterment he believed in, worked and hoped for, responded inadequately to the completely new deal they yearned for. So they decreed the downfall of Chamberlainism in order to facilitate and make ready for the downfall of Hitlerism.

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## CRIME REPEATED

AS a boy during the last war I remember newspapers causing shivers to creep up my spine with their harrowing tales of how the Germans cut off the ears and arms of Belgian babies during their murderous invasion of Belgium in 1914. I remember reading how they callously torpedoed passenger ships; I remember, as though it were only to-day, reading the reports of the sinking of the *Lusitania*, and of how many people drowned without any hope of being saved.

And then, as the years went on, we heard that most of these stories were British and French propaganda, the object of which was to incite the American people against Germany, and we heard that most of them were untrue. I lived in Germany from 1922 to 1928, and many Germans told me how utterly fantastic were the tales of German brutality and barbarism, spread by the British and French propagandists, and that there was not a word of truth in any of them. Like many other people, I wanted to believe that the Germans were not as bad as they were painted, and I grew to believe it.

Last Sunday, my wife, daughter and I were watching an air battle over our home in Surrey. We saw a British plane brought down and saw very plainly the pilot escape in his parachute. Then we distinctly saw a German fighter circle around him three times in mid-air and heard him machine-gun the helpless aviator. So once more my mind goes back to the days of 1914, and I realize that those harrowing tales of German brutality must have been true, as they are true to-day. It was not propaganda which informed me that a German pilot, safe in his own plane, machine-gunned a helpless aviator descending in his parachute—we saw it all too plainly. It is not British propaganda which has manufactured the story that German dive-bombers last Saturday, during the busy shopping hour, machine-gunned women and children in the main streets of an English town while they were doing their week-end shopping. Eyewitnesses told me this terrible story.

I am not employed by any British agency to disseminate propaganda in America. I am an American business man, living in England, subject to the same conditions as English people. I feel that my countrymen should know the facts, and when they hear that Winston Churchill is sinking British ships with British children aboard in order to gain an unfavorable impression for Germany in America, let them remember that Germans are machine-gunning British women and children during the course of their peaceful occupations in peaceful villages throughout England, and that if they are willing to do this, they are capable of anything.

## FROM THE OUTPOST

THE following cable has been sent by the Americans-in-Britain Outpost to:—

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON  
WE AMERICANS IN BRITAIN BETWEEN US HAVE BEEN ABLE TO HEARTEN HUNDREDS OF BRITISH FRIENDS BY VOLUNTEERING TO REPORT TO OUR COUNTRY THROUGH YOU MR. PRESIDENT THE INEXPRESSIBLE GRATITUDE OF DAUNTLESS COMMON PEOPLE OF LONDON AND COUNTRYSIDE FOR EVERY SUCCESSIVE EVIDENCE OF AMERICA'S GENEROUS INDIGNATION AND PRACTICAL SYMPATHY STOP TAKE OUR SOLEMN ASSURANCE THAT NOT ONE DOLLAR ONE GIFT ONE PRAYER IS WASTED STOP AS EYEWITNESSES OF FACT THAT BRITAIN IS IRREVOCABLY PLEDGED TO FIGHT TO FINISH WE NOW IMPLORE OUR OWN COUNTRYMEN SPEED FLYING FORTRESSES PURSUIT PLANES TORPEDO BOATS TO THIS FRONT LINE DEFENSE OF OUR IMPERILED BASIC LIBERTIES AND FUNDAMENTAL HUMAN DECENCIES.



# IT MAKES SENSE

## STAYING AWAKE

By DAVID CUSHMAN COYLE  
author of the best seller, "America"

The fact that the Nazis drug their victim nations to prepare them for conquest is well known to everybody. Hitler sent Chamberlain home from Munich filled with the notion that there would be "peace in our time"—so that England would stay asleep until her number was called. The Norwegians, the Dutch and Belgians, the Turks, the Russians, all were offered heavy doses of Nazi opium, to lull them into pleasant dreams. Some took the drug, some didn't. Russia, apparently, only pretended to take it.

Hitler is betting, not that he can conquer the world entirely by peaceful penetration, nor that he can conquer entirely by military assault, but that adding it all up, there will be enough nations asleep at any one time so that those who are awake and fighting can not quite stop the Nazi armies.

Since the United States is the largest and strongest nation not yet fighting, Hitler knows, and so do most other people in the world, that the war probably will be decided by the amount of sleeping and dreaming that goes on in this country.

The Nazi sleeping drug which destroys nations is a set of easy ideas that can be used to persuade people not to worry about danger to their country. These ideas are coated with chocolate or sugar to taste, but they all boil down to one thing: sleep and don't worry.

The commonest sleeping potion is the idea that Hitler can't get to America, usually expressed by the gag about his not being able to cross twenty miles of Channel to get to England. As a piece of reasoning, this idea is hard to combat because it has so little substance.

In the real world where events actually go on, Hitler's military forces have been operating far out in the Atlantic for many months. Hitler's chances of seizing Dakar, or Ireland, or even Greenland are much brighter at the moment than his chances of getting the heavily fortified island of Great Britain which is nearer by. If we should fall entirely asleep, and if England, lacking our material help, should be conquered, everyone knows the Germans could occupy the African coast and be closer to Brazil than we are. We might get "peace in our time" by sitting quiet while the Nazis moved into South America, and the Japanese took over the Pacific. But what sort of a peace? How many Americans would leave the kind of peace that Switzerland and Sweden enjoy?

Whether Hitler can get to America with two million soldiers is not the point. Hitler can get to America, anytime he can knock England out, with an economic and military squeeze that would crush the life out of us without landing a man on

our shores beyond the agents he has here now. And Hitler never wastes guns on any nation he can subdue by squeezing.

Another common drug is the smart saying that we had better clean up our own yard before we try to reform the world. This is first cousin to the one about England being a fake democracy and Russia not even that, so why should we get shot in the belly to protect those bandits? If you swallow either of these pretty arguments, they are guaranteed to make you feel perfectly comfortable from now on until after Hitler wins the war. That, of course, is what these anesthetics are for.

Of course, if England should refuse to help Russia and we should refuse to help England, until all three of us had taken a bath and washed our shirts, that would take some little time; and in the meantime the Nazis would have tied and gagged us and gone off with our shirts.

"A man who won't pay attention to a charging bull till he has properly tied his shoelaces" can be entirely comfortable in his own logic until the moment of impact. His friends can only do their best to argue him out of his logic into a sense of what is going on in the real world.

But supposing the charging bull should drop dead of heart failure with five yards still to go? Wouldn't that make us look foolish? Our logical friend would finish tying his shoelaces, and then would tell the whole town how, when everyone else was hysterical, he alone had kept his head and had come through unruffled and undiscredited.

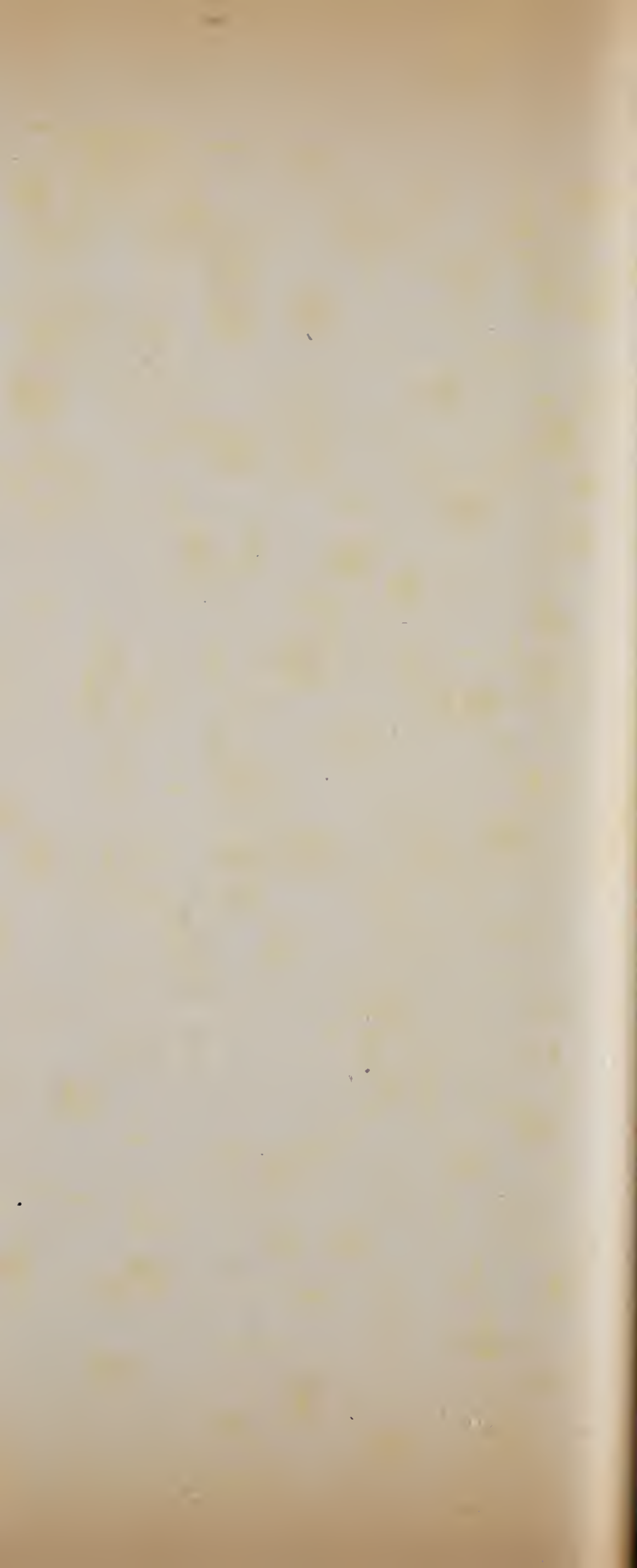
This too, is a risk that we who are awake must be willing to take with our eyes open. What if Nazi Germany should overstrain its heart in the attack on Russia, and drop dead some fine day? Then all the people who were afraid to think about danger when there was danger, and who had drugged themselves with pleasant dreams, would say "Look, you see it never was our war." And if the majority should accept that logic, what chance would there be of America playing an honorable part in the post-war world?

It must always be true that those who prepare for the worst while hoping for the best, have to run the risk that, if the worst does not happen, we may be called fools by those who prudently hid under the bed. But it is still true, that men and women of courage will not hide their heads in dreams, but will face the dangers that are in the world, doing all they can to meet and conquer those dangers, and bearing, if they must, the burden of those whose minds have been drugged to sleep.

### COMMITTEE TO DEFEND AMERICA

By Aiding the Allies, Defeating the Axis Powers and Developing Means





# The San Francisco Charter: Goals and Achievements

Our joint study of authoritative Catholic, Jewish and Protestant statements on a just world order, entitled "Goals for San Francisco" was made public on April 5, 1945. The first recommendation stressed the imperative need that the San Francisco Conference succeed and the security organization be established. The remaining nine agreements dealt with specific constructive recommendations for the United Nations Charter. What progress was made in San Francisco towards these nine goals? In order to provide the data upon which those who subscribe to the "Goals for San Francisco" may judge the progress made, we submit herewith the text of our 9 recommendations and the corresponding provisions of the United Nations Charter. The text of the nine recommendations and the new provisions since written into the United Nations Charter follow. (\*)

REV. RICHARD M. FAGLEY  
*Secretary, Commission on a  
Just and Durable Peace, Fed-  
eral Council of the Churches  
of Christ in America.*

RABBI AHRON OPHER  
*Secretary, Committee on  
Peace, Synagogue Council  
of America.*

REV. EDWARD A. CONWAY, S.J.  
*Social Action Department,  
National Catholic Welfare  
Conference.*

## PREAMBLE:

The Charter of the United Nations Organization should acknowledge in its preamble that the actions of States are subject to the same moral principles as govern the conduct of individuals.

## *We the Peoples of the United Nations*

### *Determined*

*to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind, and*

*To reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small, and*

*To establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained, and*

*To promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,*

### *And for These Ends*

*To practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbors, and*

*To unite our strength to maintain international peace and security, and*

*To insure, by the acceptance of principles and the institution of methods, that armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest, and*

*To employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples,*

*Have Resolved to Combine Our Efforts to Accomplish These Aims.—Preamble*

\* Amendments to the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals adopted at the San Francisco Conference are italicized in this text.



## MEMBERSHIP:

The Charter should specify that membership will be open to all States willing and able to fulfill the obligations of the Charter, so that membership may become universal.

Membership in the United Nations is open to all other peace-loving States *which accept the obligations contained in the present Charter and, in the judgment of the organization, are able and willing to carry out these obligations.*—Chapter II, Art. 4, 1.

\* \* \*

## INTERNATIONAL LAW:

The Charter should provide for the codification and development of international law and for its impartial enforcement.

The purposes of the United Nations are: 1. To maintain international peace and security; and to that end . . . to bring about by peaceful means *and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law*, adjustment or settlement of international disputes.—Chapter I, Art. 1.

The General Assembly shall initiate studies and make recommendations for the purpose of . . . *encouraging the progressive development of international law and its codification.*—Chapter IV, Art. 13, 1.

*Each Member of the United Nations undertakes to comply with the decision of the International Court of Justice.*—Chapter XIV, Art. 94, 1.

*If any party to a case fails to perform the obligations incumbent upon it under a judgment rendered by the Court, the other party may have recourse to the Security Council, which may, if it deems necessary, make recommendations or decide upon measures to be taken to give effect to the judgment.*—Chapter XIV, Art. 94, 2.

\* \* \*

## PEACEFUL CHANGE:

The Charter should provide more explicitly for the revision of treaties and other agreements when such action is required by justice and the good of the world community.

*Subject to the provisions (to refrain from making recommendations on a dispute while it is being dealt with by the Security Council) the General Assembly may recommend measures for the peaceful adjustment of any situation, regardless of origin, which it deems likely to impair the general welfare or friendly relations among nations, including situations resulting from a violation of the provisions of the present Charter setting forth the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations.*—Chapter IV, Art. 14.

\* \* \*

## SMALL NATIONS:

The Charter should safeguard the economic and political rights of small nations and assure them an adequate share in shaping the policies of the organization.

*The General Assembly shall receive and consider annual and special reports from the Security Council; these reports shall include an account of the measures that the Security Council has decided upon or taken to maintain international peace and security.—Chapter IV, Art. 15, 1.*

*When the Security Council has decided to use force it shall, before calling upon a Member not represented on it to provide armed forces in fulfillment of the obligations . . . invite that Member, if the Member so desires, to participate in the decisions of the Security Council concerning the employment of contingents of that Member's armed forces. Chapter VII, Art. 44.*

*With a view to the creation of conditions of stability and well-being which are necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, the United Nations shall promote: (a) Higher standards of living, full employment and conditions of economic and social progress and development.—Chapter IX, Art. 55.*

\* \* \*

### **DISARMAMENT:**

The Charter should provide a clear purpose and procedure for the limitation and control of national armaments, as collective security is established.

*The General Assembly may consider the general principles of cooperation . . . including the principles governing disarmament and the regulation of armaments, and may make recommendations with regard to such principles to the Members or to the Security Council or both.—Chapter IV, Art. 11, 1.*

\* \* \*

### **VOTING POWER:**

The Charter should provide that no one nation be allowed to veto judgment in any dispute covered by international law.

*(Yalta Agreement). In decisions under Chapter VI (Pacific settlement of disputes) and under the third sentence of Paragraph 3 of Article 52 (regional arrangements for peaceful settlement of disputes), a party to a dispute shall abstain from voting.—Chapter V, Art. 27, 3.*

\* \* \*

### **HUMAN RIGHTS:**

The Charter should include an international bill of rights, and provide for a commission or commissions to protect and further the rights and liberties of the individual and of racial, religious and cultural groups, especially those uprooted by war or oppression.

*The purposes of the United Nations are . . . to achieve international cooperation . . . in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion. (Also made a responsibility of the United Nations—Chapter IX, Article 55; of the General Assembly—Chapter IV, Article 13; of the trusteeship system Chapter XII, Article 76.)—Chapter I, Art. 1.*



The Economic and Social Council may . . . make recommendations *for the purpose of promoting respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all.*—Chapter X, Art. 62, 1 & 2.

The Economic and Social Council shall set up commissions in economic and social fields and *for the promotion of human rights.*—Chapter X, Art. 68.

\* \* \*

## DEPENDENT PEOPLES:

The Charter should provide for a commission to supervise the administration of mandated territories and to promote the advancement of non-self-governing peoples toward economic well-being, cultural development and political responsibility.

The Purposes of the United Nations are: . . . 2. To develop friendly relations among nations *based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples.*—Chapter I, Art. 1.

*Members of the United Nations . . . accept as a sacred trust the obligation to promote to the utmost, within the system of international peace and security established by the present Charter, the well-being of the inhabitants of these (dependent) territories, and to this end: . . . To develop self-government, to take due account of the political aspirations of the peoples, and to assist them in the progressive development of their free political institutions, according to the particular circumstances of each territory and its peoples and their varying stages of advancement.*—Chapter XI, Art. 73.

*The basic objectives of the trusteeship system . . . shall be: . . . (b) To promote the political, economic, social and educational advancement of the inhabitants of the trust territories, and their progressive development toward self-government or independence.*—Chapter XII, Art. 76.

*The trusteeship agreement shall in each case include the terms under which the trust territory will be administered and designate the authority which shall exercise the administration of the trust territory. Such authority . . . may be one or more states or the organization itself.*—Chapter XII, Art. 81.

*The General Assembly and, under its authority, the Trusteeship Council, in carrying out their functions, may: A. Consider reports submitted by the administering authority; B. Accept petitions and examine them in consultation with the administering authority; C. Provide for periodic visits to the respective territories at times agreed upon with the administering authority; and D. Take these and other actions in conformity with the terms of the trusteeship agreements.*—Chapter XIII, Art. 87.

*Nothing in this charter shall be construed in or of itself to alter in any manner the rights whatsoever of any states or any peoples or the terms of existing international instruments to which Members of the United Nations may respectively be parties.*—Chapter XI, Art. 80.

July 16, 1945.

STATEMENT ON THE PEACE SETTLEMENT IN EUROPE  
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO GERMANY

It is a special responsibility of the Christian Church in the United States to prepare the minds of the people of the nation for right relations with the German people after the war. One of the guiding principles that has controlled the thought of the American churches so far is "that it is contrary to the moral order that nations in their dealings with one another should be motivated by a spirit of revenge and retaliation." (Statement of Guiding Christian Principles, No. 3, adopted by the Protestant Conference at Delaware, Ohio, in March, 1942.) The churches have a special reason to know that there are many Germans whom Hitler does not represent for the resistance of German Christians, both Protestant and Catholic, is well known to them. As the Archbishop of Canterbury has recently said, "Church leaders in Germany have shown noble courage in upholding principles by which German conduct in Poland or Czechoslovakia or elsewhere is evidently condemned, and we honor them for their fearless witness." The Church also knows from its teaching that however one-sided may be the responsibility for the events which led directly to this war and for the horrors that have accompanied it, all nations share responsibility for the deeper evils of which they are symptoms. The sense of common guilt that Christians must feel when they contemplate the total crisis of our times will alone make possible reconciliation with the German people in the future. The Church should recognize the need for discipline in the peace in the interest of justice, but it should not despair of the people of any nation.

One necessary condition for world peace is a united policy with respect to Europe. If Europe is divided into independent spheres of influence without a significant agreement between the United States, Britain and Russia in the framework of a world organization, it will once again be the battleground, first in political struggles for power and then in war. A hopeful policy for Europe as a whole must include a plan that is designed to restore the people of Germany to health and sanity. The test of any policy for Germany must be: will this policy prepare the German people for a constructive part in European life ten years from now or will its chief effect be to keep Germany a center of infection at the heart of Europe? It would be politically easy at first to reduce Germans to a state of virtual imprisonment but it would be impossible to keep the prison doors shut for long. This proved to be impossible after the last war. Such a policy of mere repression would assure a spirit of resentment to the point of madness within Germany and sooner or later an abnormal people would be let loose upon the world. Since the peace of the world depends upon the peace of Europe and since the peace of Europe requires a constructive solution of the German problem we urge upon the governments of the United Nations that their policy in regard to Germany be based upon the following principles:





1. The discipline of Germany because of the crimes she has committed should not be controlled by a spirit of vindictiveness but by concern for European recovery and peace.

The defeat of Germany will in itself be a severe punishment. It will come after the destruction of many of her cities, after overwhelming losses in men and in national wealth. It will bring national humiliation. It will be followed by enforced disarmament immediately. Germany should restore stolen property as far as this is possible and she should aid in rebuilding what she has destroyed. But neither the economic stability of Europe as a whole nor the preparation of the people of Germany for freedom and peace would be served by extracting reparations from her over a long period.

The punishment of those most responsible for such acts of terror as the mass slaughter of the people in conquered countries, and the systematic extermination of the Jews of Europe, is an elementary demand of justice. Indeed crimes have been committed for which no conceivable punishment seems adequate, but such punishment should be limited to those whose responsibility is central and not extend to the soldiers who were implicated because they carried out orders. Some form of temporary segregation might be devised for those who were mere instruments in crime. For the United Nations to engage in a long continued program of cold-blooded mass executions would debauch the world.

2. The dismemberment of Germany into separate states should not be imposed upon the Germans.

The enforced division of Germany would heighten German nationalism and it would probably lead to the development of the fiercest irredentism that has ever afflicted Europe. The dismemberment of Germany into independent states unless provision were made for economic unity would strangle the economic life of the Germans and impair the prosperity of Europe. A political division of Germany which is widely supported by Germans themselves and which preserves economic unity would not be open to the same objections if it were part of a larger federation of European states.

3. Our policy in dealing with Germany should be calculated to strengthen the forces inside Germany which are committed to freedom and international cooperation.

There are millions of Germans who have not been deeply corrupted by Nazism. In the churches, among the workers, and among liberals who have resisted Hitler "the other Germany" lives. It will be necessary to remove from power the leaders of National Socialism together with their accomplices among the industrialists, the military class and the reactionary landowners. But the cleansing of Germany - both its public life and its soul - from the poison of National Socialism must be primarily the work of Germans.



THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

FROM THE FIRST SETTLEMENTS TO THE PRESENT TIME

BY JAMES M. SMITH

The history of the United States of America is a story of growth and development. It begins with the first settlers who came to the New World in search of a better life. They found a land of opportunity and freedom, and they built a nation that has become one of the most powerful and influential in the world. The story of the United States is a story of the struggle for freedom and justice, and it is a story that continues to this day.

The first settlers of the United States were the Pilgrims, who came to the New World in 1620. They were a group of English Puritans who had been persecuted in their home country. They came to the New World in search of a place where they could practice their religion freely. They found a land of opportunity and freedom, and they built a nation that has become one of the most powerful and influential in the world.

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4. While corrective and precautionary measures are taken to end the menace of Nazism and militarism in Germany, efforts should be made to enable the people of Germany to find for themselves the necessary economic conditions for a good life.

In the Atlantic Charter it is said that the two nations represented "will endeavor, with due respect for their existing obligations, to further the enjoyment by all states, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access, on equal terms, to the trade and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity." This promise to vanquished as well as victors still stands. Those responsible for the policy of the United Nations should hold to it. An impoverished Germany will continue to be a menace to the peace of the world. Some method must be found to prevent German re-armament without depriving Germany of her industry. The permanent destruction of German industry would not only impoverish Germany but also lower the European standard of living.

John C. Bennett, Chairman  
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Harry Emerson Fosdick  
Wm. Ernest Hocking  
Rufus Jones  
Wm. Allen Neilson  
Reinhold Niebuhr  
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Arnold Wolfers

May 31, 1944





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Dr. Robert E. Speer  
Lakeville, Conn.

Dear Dr. Speer:

Some time ago you signed the Pledge for Peace, drawn up by this Board, then known as the Writers' War Board. The wide circulation of the Pledge has been of definite help in fixing in the minds of citizens in general some of the principles of a lasting peace.

However, the last six months of world-history, ever since the epochal explosion at Los Alamos, have made it necessary for us to go much farther -- and quickly -- if peace is to be created and wholesale destruction averted.

The members of this Board, therefore, have prepared the enclosed Petition to the President of the United States. We are hoping to secure to it the signatures of the most distinguished Americans in every walk of life. We hope, by this simple means and by the proper publicizing of the Petition, to achieve two specific objectives: a) to let our Chief Executive know what some of our country's most informed citizens think must be done now; b) to spread some idea of the necessity for World Government among those large groups of Americans who have not as yet thought the problem through.

Will you sign this, if you agree with it, or if your reservations are of a minor nature? Will you send back the post-card enclosed immediately? And, with it, will you enclose if you can, the names and addresses of a few other Americans, prominent or distinguished in their trades or professions, to whom we might send the Petition?

All this is a small step, but with the American state of mind as much in flux as it is now, it may help toward a decisive and effective change in public opinion.

Sincerely,

*Clifton Fadiman*

Clifton Fadiman  
for the Board





# TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

## A PETITION FOR A WORLD GOVERNMENT

**WE**, THE UNDERSIGNED, believing that there can be no adequate military defense against the atomic bomb, and that for the protection of mankind against atomic energy used for destructive purposes there must be established effective enforceable safeguards under the rule of law, do, in accordance with the right guaranteed us by the Constitution of the United States, respectfully make petition.

**FIRST:** We ask that without further delay you institute steps for extending the authority of the United Nations Organization so that it shall become a true World Government.

**SECOND:** We ask that this World Government shall have as its base a world law prohibiting war and forbidding the manufacture of weapons of mass destruction.

**THIRD:** We ask that each people shall delegate to the World Government such sovereignty as shall be necessary to create such world law.

**FOURTH:** We ask that the World Government shall consist of a world legislature, a world executive, a world judiciary, and adequate military force; that this World Government have jurisdiction directly over the individual, not acting through any national government; and that it shall have power to abolish all national armaments except those needed for internal policing.

**FIFTH:** We ask that the World Government shall be so constituted as to permit neither the secession nor the expulsion of any individual nation or group of nations.

**SIXTH:** We ask that, to achieve these general aims without further dangerous delay, you do publicly and at once instruct the American delegates to the United Nations Organization to initiate such action as shall transform UNO into a World Government.

**SEVENTH:** We ask that, should such action fail, you do yourself at once invite the governments of the peoples of the world to a World Constitutional Convention for the purpose of setting up a World Government of those people which desire to adhere thereto, in the full faith and hope that such a World Government shall within a short time comprise all the peoples of the earth.

**IN THE SOLEMN BELIEF** that, unless these immediate steps are taken, the earth will within a few years inevitably be the scene of atomic wars that will destroy civilization and most of mankind with it, and in the further belief that the people of the world are now ready to support any and every action which offers hope of stopping war, we have affixed our signatures in respectful but urgent petition.

SIGNED.....





# *Pattern's Progress*

An Occasional Bulletin on *Pattern for Peace*, the Catholic, Jewish and Protestant Declaration on World Peace

Address Communications to the Editors: Rev. Edward A. Conway, S. J. and Rev. Richard M. Fagley

Room 1005, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York 11, N. Y.

Bulletin #5

May 22, 1944

## TOLEDO WEEK ON THE PATTERN

An impressive series of public meetings were held in Toledo from April 30 to May 7th on fundamental problems of a just and enduring peace. The basis for the city-wide study was the Pattern for Peace, some 25,000 copies of which were distributed. In addition full page advertisements in the newspapers featuring the declaration, bus and streetcar advertisements, sermons in churches and synagogues and announcements in high schools and group meetings were used to stimulate interest in the special sessions. The program was conducted under the auspices of a special committee composed of the Rev. C. Clark Shedd, executive secretary of the Toledo Council of Churches, Dean C. K. Searles of Toledo University, and the Rev. S. C. Michelfelder, St. Paul's Lutheran Church, representing Protestants; the Rt. Rev. Msgr. A. J. Sawkins and Judge Thomas J. O'Connor, representing Catholics; and Rabbi Morton Goldberg and Judge Aaron Cohn, representing Jews. A fuller description of the procedure will be presented in the next bulletin.

## ST. LOUIS INSTITUTE ON PEACE PROBLEMS

Pattern for Peace was used effectively in the recent Win the War - Win the Peace Institute, sponsored by the Church Peace Union and World Alliance in conjunction with other national organizations and held in St. Louis May 15-16. The Planning Committee distributed five thousand copies of the Pattern in advance of the meeting, stamping the place and date of the meeting across the back of the leaflet. The document was widely distributed at the Institute, especially at the opening sessions and the Seminar on Religion in the Postwar World. Several hundred high school children attended the round tables and heard six local religious leaders, two rabbis, two priests and two Protestant ministers, discuss the implications of the Pattern and the methods to be used in implementing it.

## THE PATTERN IN BRITAIN

Rabbi Israel Goldstein, President of the Synagogue Council of America, has reported, on returning from his recent mission to England, on the wide attention given to the Pattern for Peace among religious circles in that country. Catholic, Protestant and Jewish leaders all expressed their gratification that the religious bodies in America had expressed their agreement on world order in a clear statement of seven principles. Rabbi Goldstein also found that several of the leading British statesmen knew of the Pattern for Peace. The publicity given to the Pattern in Britain continues. The three preambles and full text of the Declaration were printed, for example, in the March 9 issue of the British Weekly.





### BISHOP OXNAM CALLS FOR ACTION

Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam of Boston, speaking before the Maine Conference of the Methodist Church at Lewiston, Maine, on May 20th, called for active religious support for the principles of the Pattern for Peace. Bishop Oxnam said:

With invasion just ahead our major attention for a considerable period will be upon the stern and tragic duty of imposing our will upon the enemy to the end that his organized forces may be destroyed and the democratic purpose become dominant in the world. There is grave danger in such an hour that the equally important task of planning the peace may be regarded as secondary. It is of equal importance and, in the long run, of greater importance. Unless the new world for which these men died is established, our sons will have been betrayed. At the very hour the conflict reaches crisis, constructive proposals must be kept at the forefront of our thinking. It is significant that Protestant, Jew and Roman Catholic, all inspired by the basic considerations of religion, have united in the formulation of a statement of principles upon which enduring peace inevitably rests. This great document, issued jointly last October, has become known as "The Pattern for Peace." It behooves religious forces everywhere to center fundamental attention upon this Pattern for Peace, study the related document entitled "The Pillars of Peace" issued by the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, and move forward with the full strength of religion in a free democracy until decision shall be made upon the basis of these documents. The Prayer for Peace must become a Pattern for Peace, if the practice of Peace is to be established.

### THE MORAL BASIS FOR PEACE

Speaking under the auspices of Town Hall at the Scottish Rite Auditorium, in San Francisco on May 1st, the Rev. Francis X. Talbot, S. J., Executive Editor of America, said of the Pattern:

I stress the fact that this is idealism, this is spirituality, this is high morality. And unless morality, idealism and spirituality enter into the peace we shall be at war again despite our efforts to avoid it.... We live in a democracy and if the mass of our people only believed strongly enough the peace that we want, the peace based on morality, on justice with charity for all people, if we made that quite clear to our leaders we might strengthen their hand and their determination to speak out with a stentorian voice saying, "We want a peace that will work and that will endure"....

### THE PATTERN AND PARTY PLATFORMS

An editorial in the May 17 issue of The Christian Century, a Protestant weekly published in Chicago, related the Pattern to the party conventions:

Watch the movement now getting under way to persuade the approaching Republican and Democratic conventions to adopt the declaration on world peace made by Catholic, Protestant and Jewish leaders as the peace planks in their party platforms. The declaration....is picking up support in many quarters. Stranger things have





happened in American politics than that such a church utterance should become the international program of both parties in this critical year. But few more wholesome things could happen.

### THE PATTERN IN SUNDAY SCHOOLS

The full text of the Pattern's seven principles was included in the Adult student for May 7. The magazine goes to some 80,000 adult classes in the Methodist Church Schools. The material was prepared by Bishop Oxnam as part of the study program of the Crusade for a New World Order conducted by the Bishops of the Methodist Church.

### CHURCH CONVENTIONS

The Pattern is being presented before an increasing number of gatherings of religious leaders. Meetings at which the Declaration has been presented recently include: The Catholic Association for International Peace in Washington, the Congregational State Conference in Rutland, Vermont, the Diocesan Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Diocese of Albany, New York, and the Maine Conference of the Methodist Church in Lewiston, Maine.

### THE PATTERN IN HIGH SCHOOLS

The Pattern is coming into greater use as a basis for education on world order among high schools. A number of high schools across the country have already placed copies in the hands of their teachers. The Declaration was called to the attention of educators by the Journal of the National Education Association. One of the most striking programs was conducted among the high schools of Hudson County, New Jersey. The 10th Annual Oratorical Contest for Jersey City High Schools had as its theme the Pattern for Peace. The seven contestants from as many high schools spoke on the principles of the Pattern. The contest was sponsored by the Bellarmine Debating Society and held in the auditorium of St. Peter's College on May 12th.

### LECTURES ON THE PATTERN

One of the editors, Father Conway, is now engaged in a speaking tour on behalf of the Catholic, Jewish and Protestant Declaration. His itinerary includes Milwaukee, St. Louis, Topeka, Omaha, Denver, Seattle, Portland, San Francisco and Los Angeles.

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# *Pattern's Progress*

An Occasional Bulletin on *Pattern for Peace*, the Catholic, Jewish and Protestant Declaration on World Peace

Address Communications to the Editors: Rev. Edward A. Conway, S. J. and Rev. Richard M. Fagley

Supplement #5

Room 1005, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York 11, N. Y.

June 9, 1944

## BRITISH LEADERS SUPPORT PATTERN

An impressive action was taken by Catholic, Jewish and Protestant leaders in Great Britain when the Executive Committee of the British Council of Christians and Jews adopted a statement in support of the Pattern. The Council is headed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Archbishop of Westminster, the Moderator of the Free Church Federal Council, the Moderator of the Church of Scotland and the Chief Rabbi of Great Britain. The statement was issued simultaneously in Britain and the United States on June 1 and released in this country by Pattern's Progress. The text of the statement is as follows:

The Council of Christians and Jews in Great Britain warmly welcomes the statement on the conditions of world peace signed by Protestant, Roman Catholic and Jewish religious leaders in America on October 7th, 1943, and finds itself in general agreement with the principles therein laid down. It is in accordance with the Council's aims to urge that ethical and religious principles be applied to relations between groups, to the social life of peoples, and to international relations.

The Council believes that it is the duty of religious people to pray and work for peace and for the reconciliation of enemies, for the abolition of war and all the evils it involves and for a new era of confidence and constructive service. The re-establishment of moral law, of respect for the rights of the person, especially those of the poor, the weak and the backward, and of responsibility towards the whole community, must be first charges on the energies of all right-thinking men and women. Church and Synagogue have the duty not only to exhort men in this sense but also to infuse with their spirit those agencies, diplomatic, political, economic, social and benevolent, through which a happier world order will be established.

There can be no permanent peace without a religious foundation. The fact that both Church and Synagogue are international and supra-national, with traditions older than the political and economic structure of the modern world, entitles them to speak with authority at just such a time as this: they were founded on the divine law, on which also all social righteousness must rest. To reconstitute political institutions, to restart the agriculture, industry and trade of the world, to re-establish international institutions representative of the unity and interdependence of the nations and their well-being, will mainly be the responsibility of representative statesmen and assemblies. All Christians and Jews, however, will share the responsibility of putting the plans and actions of statesmen to the tests of religion, and of seeing that they correspond with righteousness, mercy and peace.





BRITISH LETTER TO AMERICAN SIGNERS

Accompanying the foregoing statement, the following letter was sent to the 146 signers of the Pattern by Dr. Henry Carter, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the British Council. The letter reads as follows:

To the Signatories of the American Three-Faith Declaration on World Peace:

I write as Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Council of Christians and Jews to tell you with what interest and appreciation the American Three-Faith Declaration on World Peace has been received by the Jewish and Christian communities in this country.

In particular it has been the subject of careful consideration by this Council which, at a meeting held on December 8th last under the Chairmanship of the Archbishop of Canterbury, unanimously adopted the following resolution which was proposed by Lord Perth and seconded by Professor Brodetsky:

"That this Council of Christians and Jews which has as one of its aims co-operation between Jews and Christians in study and service directed to post-war reconstruction welcomes the Three-Faith Declaration on World Peace recently issued in the U.S.A. over the signatures of some 146 representative Protestant, Catholic and Jewish leaders in that country.

"The Council desires to express its appreciation of the terms of this pronouncement which it recognises as a notable step forward in the sphere of Jewish Christian collaboration and an important contribution to the cause of World Peace. The Council requests its Executive Committee to make the American Statement known to the Council's constituency; to undertake a careful study of the vital matters raised by it particularly in their relation to the aims of the Council; and in due course to convey the results of this study to the signatories of the American Statement."

The Council's Executive Committee, in accordance with the concluding sentence of this resolution, has set up a research group to work carefully over the Three-Faith Declaration and to produce a detailed report which might serve as a basis for study and discussion by groups of Christians and Jews throughout the country.

In the meantime my Executive has asked me to convey to you and to your colleagues in the terms of the accompanying statement its appreciation of and general agreement with your Declaration. We on this side of the Atlantic are deeply indebted to you for the lead which you have given in this matter. We believe it to be of great importance as helping to promote a better understanding between the Christian and Jewish communities and also to secure more effective co-operation in matters which are, and will continue to be, of vital concern in the interests of world peace.

With cordial greetings,  
Yours sincerely,

(signed) Henry Carter

May 4th, 1944

Chairman of Executive Committee





AMERICAN COMMENT ON BRITISH STATEMENT

Among the editorial reactions to the statement of the British leaders is the following editorial from the New York Times of June 1:

Voices Across the Sea

War is a cruel teacher, but it does teach. Proofs that the human spirit rises to great heights to meet great crises are found day after day in the epics of the battlefield, as glorious and chivalric in the monstrous contests of tanks and bombers as they ever were in the neat little wars of knights in armor. They are found in the grim and commonplace tales of the courage of the unarmed - patriots in occupied lands, civilians facing death at home, exiles and prisoners, the maimed and the bereaved. They are found in the almost agonized thought given to ways and means to maintain peace by multitudes of people in every country who never thought on these problems before. They are found in the way people get together on the true level that runs below - or above - differences of habit, of opinion, even of interest.

War divides, but it also burns away divisions. The experience of facing up to a common enemy does not so much create unity as it strips away surface divergences and reveals the fundamental principles on which men of goodwill can agree. A striking example of this is the message addressed yesterday by the British Council of Christians and Jews to the recent American three-faith declaration on world peace. This is the first time the Protestant, Catholic and Jewish communities of England have united in a common statement. It is issued in answer to the first statement made in the United States by the three chief religious groups.

Thus a precedent is dictated by the war that offers a new promise of united religious action in behalf of a good peace. For what unites these representatives of the religious communities of Great Britain and America and impels them for the first time to speak with one voice is the conviction that the basis of the new order and organization of the world is not physical power alone. Armies and four-Power directorates will not keep the peace unless it rests on a moral foundation. The religious leaders of the English-speaking peoples accept this truth and the obligation that goes with it when they proclaim that "all Christians and Jews will share the responsibility of putting the plans and actions of statesmen to the tests of religion."





# Pattern's Progress

An Occasional Bulletin on *Pattern for Peace*, the Catholic, Jewish and Protestant Declaration on World Peace

Address Communications to the Editors: Rev. Edward A. Conway, S. J. and Rev. Richard M. Fagley

Room 1005, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York 11, N. Y.

## SUPPLEMENT # 4

### PATTERN PROVIDES BASIS FOR REPORT TO POST-WAR PLANNING COUNCIL

In the hope that other communities throughout the country would conduct similar programs, we have given wide publicity to the Syracuse "civic gathering" held on February 15, 1944. The impact of that community meeting is still being felt in Syracuse.

Before the civic program on the Pattern religious thinking had not been prominent in the deliberations of the county-city postwar planning council. Soon afterward, however, a committee on religion was formed which on April 30 presented a long report to the whole Council. Members of the committee were: Rev. Joseph B. Toomey, chairman; Rev. Dr. Edwin T. Dahlberg, Rabbi Benjamin Friedman, Rev. David C. Gildea, Rev. Gerald T. Krohn, and Rabbi David H. Panitz.

This report does more than recommend the Pattern for Peace. In masterful fashion it applies many of the Pattern's principles to pressing problems in the local community. We believe that these recommendations of representatives of the three faiths, united on the principles of the Pattern are so timely that we present herewith rather lengthy extracts from the report of the committee.

### REPORT OF COMMITTEE

"Many hours of labor and effort on the part of a highly respected number of Syracuse and Onondaga county citizens have been offered in the attempt to provide for this unit of our nation a plan whereby a full share of benefits might be offered to those who call this city and county their home.

"From its very beginning, this plan has been one which has primarily dealt with the physical and material aspects of community planning....

"The committee on religion submits the following recommendations under the motivation that 'Unless the Lord builds the house, they labor in vain that build it. Unless the Lord keep the city, he watcheth in vain that keepeth it'.

### SUPPORT FOR PATTERN RECOMMENDED

"1. That there be united support and fulfillment of the principles of the seven point peace plan as enunciated by the Social Action Department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, the Synagogue Council of America, and the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, all three of which bodies are agreed in summoning this and every other nation to an international organization which will be subject to the sovereignty of God and His moral law.

"2. That by an acceptance of these seven principles, there shall be a recognition by our own civic leaders, and the people generally, of their religious duties, including church attendance, to the end that Syracuse and Onondaga county may furnish to the entire nation an outstanding example of a community whose homes, churches and synagogues render homage to the will of Almighty God.





## PEACE DEPENDS ON GOD

" 3. The postwar plan of this or other communities must have for validity the goal of bringing full peace to men and it must be recognized that all peace as a result of successful planning must be based on the placing of God back to His proper place in society.

"This means (a) that it is the duty and responsibility of every one to offer assistance in the task of re-establishing the dignity and rights of the human person, rights which were given by God in the very beginning of the human race. It implies and assures that every man has basic rights as well as duties which the whole of society must protect and guarantee. He has among other things the right to the development of his physical, moral and intellectual life. He has the right to worship God as his conscience dictates and he has the right to the use of the earth's material goods for the fulfilling of his responsibility to God and his fellow man.

## FAMILY MUST BE PROTECTED

" (b) Since no man lives alone but by his nature is a social being, it is, therefore, essential that all of the various groups in this or any other community be joined together for the eternal and temporal good of each and all. All men must, therefore, strive to provide for a rededication of family life to holy living, righteous affections, and a prayerful obedience to the Commandments of God. Family life is the cell life of society and, therefore, every safeguard, moral and material, must be placed about it in order that this basis of civilization will remain a healthy and virile unit, thereby guaranteeing society's full development.

"Family life, and more specifically, parental leadership, must concern itself with all the entities which shall guarantee the internal strength of this smallest unit of society and among these and foremost shall be a recognition of the supremacy of God and the effort to learn and live according to the laws of God.

## RELIGIOUS EDUCATION MUST BE PROVIDED

" Children as part of that family life must have an opportunity to learn and live by the moral law of God, and it is therefore recommended that there be a development and enhancement of religious education as provided by the released time program of our public school system and that being carried on in the respective churches and synagogues under the title of religious education. There should be also a re-establishment according to good American tradition of family prayer in seeking the blessings of God for every household. All of this presupposes that there shall be a re-dedication of matrimony and its vows to the lofty and holy purposes for which God intended it.

## MORALITY MUST GOVERN ECONOMIC LIFE

" (c) One of the most striking problems of post-war planning and its objective, which is peace among men is to be discerned in the field of economics.....

"The dignity and the rights of labor must be respected, as well as must be the dignity and the rights of management. The very plan of God Himself is that man is dignified by work and develops his human personality through work. As a consequence, it follows that the worker has every right to a living family wage and it is the responsibility of society to procure for the worker as wide a share as possible of property ownership. This involves what is commonly called collective bargaining, which should under every norm of good morality bring benefits equally just and fair to those of management and labor.





"The economic life of a city or a nation is not a matter of machines or dollar bills; it is truly the life of men and women and, therefore, God has a great deal to do with it, since those same men and women are creatures of God.

#### RIGHTS OF MINORITY GROUPS MUST BE PROTECTED

" (d) There must be an adoption of an intelligent and far-sighted policy in our relation as a community to our so-called minority groups and this policy should be based on a recognition of the fact that every man, regardless of his race, color or creed is an object of the love of God and, therefore, if men will be God-like, they must respect the claim of the minority groups to full partnership in the brotherhood of man with all the privileges and rights that entails. And this claim may not be premised on any historical tradition, but must be acknowledged to rest upon a positive moral basis.

#### STATE MUST ABIDE BY MORAL LAW

" (e) Finally, the state as an entity which has the purpose of serving and procuring the well-being of its citizens, will at all times recognize the dignity of the human person and his human destiny. The deepest meaning of the opportunity to rule is to serve, and we observe in conclusion that the state and all its officials are bound by the law of God and dependent upon His will just as the individual is bound by that law and depends upon that will.

#### SUCCESS OF POSTWAR PLANNING DEPENDS ON IMPLEMENTATION OF PRINCIPLES

" The above premises are not, to be sure, so inclusive that every moral consideration has been included. They are, however, some of the basic premises without which the Syracuse-Onondaga county postwar planning or any other planning must fail.

" If we are to have any reasonable hope for a postwar world in which there will be benefits which lend themselves to the progress of mankind then sincerely and conscientiously we should recognize and fulfill our obligations toward God. No society can ever be reformed whether it be of a city or a nation or a world unless there has been a reformation of the individual first, and particularly as regards his religious life.

" We have had other crises through which we have passed, but in and among them all, there has never been one quite so critical as that which faces us in these days. Our success in the contest that lies ahead will be possible only if the grace of God attends our efforts and we do the bidding of our conscience in placing Almighty God first in our considerations. "Seek ye first the kingdom of God and His justice and all these things shall be added unto you."

"Therein and therein alone can be found the truth and the peace that shall guarantee to men the making of a better post-war world."

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(Additional copies of this Report may be secured from the Editors of Pattern's Progress)





# *Pattern's Progress*

An Occasional Bulletin on *Pattern for Peace*, the Catholic, Jewish and Protestant Declaration on World Peace

Address Communications to the Editors: Rev. Edward S. Conway, S. J. and Rev. Richard M. Fagley

Bulletin #6

Room 1005, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York 11, N. Y.

June 27, 1944

## PROTESTANT LEADER COMMENDS PATTERN

The Rt. Rev. Henry St. George Tucker, presiding bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church and president of the Federal Council of Churches, said in a statement released on June 15:

The Pattern for Peace represents such an impressive consensus of Protestant, Catholic and Jewish thought with regard to the post-war world that I earnestly hope it will be widely studied and discussed throughout the constituency of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America. I warmly commend it to the churches as a highly significant interpretation of the goals for which Christian people should strive as they think of their responsibility for world order.

## CATHOLIC PRESS ASSOCIATION PROMISES SUPPORT FOR PATTERN

The Catholic Press Association, at its Annual Convention in Milwaukee, May 13, 1944, passed the following resolution:

BE IT RESOLVED THAT the Seven Points for Peace approved by the Catholic hierarchy of the United States as well as by members of the religious leaders of Protestantism and Judaism be recognized as a dynamic effort on the part of the moral and spiritual forces of this country, and that the Catholic Press Association exercise every effort to bring these Seven Points for Peace to the attention of the American people.

## CHURCH PEACE UNION RESOLUTION

The Board of Trustees of the Church Peace Union, at its Semi-Annual Meeting, adopted new plans for continued educational aid in support of the three-faith declaration, Pattern for Peace. A special resolution was addressed to the Republican and Democratic Conventions:

We urge the Conventions of both major parties to recognize in their platforms the importance of basic moral principles for international law and order, as expressed in the Catholic, Jewish and Protestant Declaration on World Peace. In particular, we urge a clear commitment to American participation in international institutions to guarantee collective security and justice, as called for in this historic Pattern for Peace.





THOMAS WOODLOCK ON POINT TWO

The proposal by the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace to establish a "United Nations Conference on Human Rights" is an interesting suggestion and may prove a highly important one, should it be adopted. For the fact is that here is touched the end to which all other matters of government, national and international, including peace itself, are but means. They all exist for the sake of the human person and the doctrine of human rights is no more and no less than the assertion of that fact. What is the origin of the doctrine which asserts that fact ?

In that section of its report just issued (part III of its fourth report) the Commission states that these rights have their religious source in the Judaeo-Christian insistence upon the dignity and worth of man, their legal source in "the historic English acts beginning with Magna Charta," and their political impetus in "the American and the French Revolutions, which reflected the ancient Greek respect for the reason of man." It is a correct statement so far as it goes, and for the purposes of the Commission it, perhaps, goes far enough. It is necessary to observe, however, that upon its "religious" origin the entire doctrine depends. The "Catholic, Jewish and Protestant Declaration on World Peace" (quoted by the Commission) issued in 1943 stated it in the plainest terms: "The dignity of the human person as the image of God must be set forth in all its essential implications in an international declaration of rights and be vindicated by the positive action of national governments and international organization. States as well as individuals must repudiate racial, religious or other discrimination in violation of those rights." The whole thing hangs upon man's origin and nature, and it is from the Jewish scriptures that the world first learned of both, and it is Christianity that gave to both their final expression. Our Declaration's preamble crisply states the case in a few simple words.

Now a United Nations Conference on Human Rights will have to begin at the beginning by justifying such doctrine as it may decide to lay down concerning those rights. It will either have to recognize their origin in Judaeo-Christianity or it will have to assign some other origin. The latter job would be one of much difficulty, (this writer regards it as impossible) for in the first place there is a considerable body of opinion in this country and in others which denies that there are such things as the rights we are discussing and denies, of course, the very basis for such an origin, that is religion, as such. Against this the proponents of the rights could offer nothing more than their assertion of both rights and origin. But there is a concrete fact in the case and that is that the doctrine of human rights naturally commends itself to a deeply rooted instinct in man whenever it is presented in simple terms, which points to something in his nature that





demands them. It would be very difficult for the opponents of that doctrine to find an explanation of that fact in the scheme of their philosophy and their theory of man's nature and origin. (This writer thinks it would be impossible.)

If a United Nations Conference can help to clarify the confusion of thinking on this point it will do something of the greatest importance, for the ultimate fact of the whole conflict in which we are engaged is that it is over the worth and dignity of man as man. (From "Thinking it Over", Wall Street Journal, May 29, 1944)

#### CONVENTIONS

Catholic College Students: The 350 delegates representing the five member colleges of the Detroit region of the National Federation of Catholic College Students at its one-day congress, held at Sienna Heights College, at Adrian, Michigan, in May, recommended adoption, and pledged support, of the Pattern for Peace.

New England Methodists: An interesting development in the history of Pattern for Peace was made by the New England Conference of the Methodist Church on May 26. The Report of the Commission on Social Ethics and World Peace, headed by Dr. Edgar S. Brightman, "reaffirmed each of seven principles of the Interfaith Declaration on World Peace" and used the principles as a rubric for a special statement addressed to Methodists. The Report was adopted by the Conference.

American Council on Education: At the recent Princeton meeting of the American Council on Education the suggestion was made that the Pattern be laid as the basis of a possible course on the religious and moral bases of citizenship in the public schools.

#### ST. LOUIS FORUM

Mr. Allen May, Chairman of the St. Louis WIN THE PEACE Forum, requested 10,000 copies of the Pattern for Peace for follow-up distribution from the Forum office. He writes: "We are further thinking of utilizing our tri-faith chairmanship from the Institute to follow the Syracuse activity reported by Father Conway in Supplement #4 of Pattern's Progress."

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# Pattern's Progress

Occasional Bulletin on *Pattern for Peace*, the Catholic, Jewish and Protestant Declaration on World Peace

Address Communications to the Editors: Rev. Edward A. Conway, S. J. and Rev. Richard M. Fagley

Supplement #6

Room 1005, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York 11, N. Y.

June 28, 1944

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Recommendations made to the Foreign Policy Sub-committee of the Republican Resolutions Committee, at the Hotel Stevens, Chicago, Thursday, June 22, 1944, by Rev. Edward A. Conway, S. J.

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Ladies and gentlemen of the sub-committee:

I am appearing before you, not as representative of the Catholic Church, but as **exponent** of the PATTERN FOR PEACE, which is a declaration of seven moral principles for a just peace, signed on October 7, 1943, by 146 Protestant, Catholic and Jewish religious leaders of this country. And when I say leaders, I don't mean any self-constituted spokesmen for small minorities of religionists, but the official representatives of the Catholic, Jewish and Protestant faiths of the nation.

This historic declaration was proclaimed to the American people last October by Bishop Henry St. George Tucker, President of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, by Rabbi Israel Goldstein, President of the Synagogue Council of America, and by Archbishop Edward Mooney, Chairman of the Administrative Board of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, supported by 146 leaders of the three faiths. Since that time the three religious groups have been conducting educational campaigns on the seven principles of the PATTERN FOR PEACE among the millions of their communicants. These have been both independent and joint programs. Joint meetings to arouse public opinion in support of these principles have been held in a number of cities. A month ago Toledo, Ohio, conducted such programs throughout the city for a full week.

Every effort is being made to spread these civic gatherings throughout the country; the next three months should see them multiplied in hundreds of communities of every size.

Out of these meetings have sprung numerous suggestions, made independently by representatives of all three faiths, that the Platform Committees of both parties should give heed to the expressed convictions of the leaders of the three great faiths, whose membership is placed roughly at 70 million.

As a sample of these suggestions, I quote one made in an editorial in the Syracuse Post-Standard, by the Rev. Dr. Calvin M. Thompson, Jr.:

If the leaders of the Protestant, Jewish and Catholic religions could agree upon seven principles for a just peace and a better social order, then the two major political parties should be able to do likewise. What better way could there be to demonstrate national unity than to have the Democrats and Republicans





both adopt these seven principles as their platform plank on world relations ?

Perhaps it is too much to ask that all seven principles be implemented in the party platforms. I should like to direct your attention particularly to Articles One and Five. Article One declares that "the organization of a just peace depends upon practical recognition of the fact that not only individuals, but nations, states and international society are subject to the sovereignty of God and to the moral law which comes from God". This principle is basic to the whole Pattern for a just Peace. Article Five, which is too long to quote, but which is contained in the leaflet in your hands, demands "International Institutions to maintain peace with justice must be organized."

I should like to emphasize the significance of this article. It means that the duly constituted heads of twenty-three Protestant denominations, the fifty leading rabbis of the country, and the chairman of the Administrative Board of the Catholic Bishops are unanimous in declaring that the political organization of the world in the present circumstances is a moral imperative, and at least by inference, that participation by the United States in such organization is likewise a moral imperative.

These two articles were embodied in a resolution recently adopted by the Board of Trustees of the Church Peace Union in their recent semi-annual meeting:

RESOLVED:

- 1) that we urge on the conventions of both major parties the importance of basic moral principles for international law and order as expressed in the Declaration of Catholics, Jews and Protestants on World Peace;
- 2) that we urge in particular a clear commitment to American participation in international institutions to guarantee collective security and justice as called for in this Historic Pattern for Peace.

The leaders of the three faiths, ladies and gentlemen, are utterly convinced that unless these principles undergird our foreign policy with respect to the coming peace, that peace will never endure. Hence the Protestant leaders appealed "to their constituency to give heed to the foregoing expression in national policies"; the American Synagogue "called upon its adherents to seek after the implementation of these principles"; the Catholic Bishops and clergy and laity who signed the document declared that these principles "express the minimum requirements of a peace which Christians can endorse as fair to all men".

I may add that on June 1, the five leading churchmen of Great Britain subscribed to the same set of American peace principles.

I am, therefore, appealing to you, ladies and gentlemen, to give serious consideration to these principles, especially articles One and Five, upon which, for the first time in the history of our country, the leaders of the three faiths have united for common action. It would be a matter which could not be passed over in the educational campaigns now in progress if the





Republican platform presented a plank which did not measure up to these "minimum moral requirements of a just peace".

It is only fair to say to you that the same recommendations are being made to the Democratic Resolutions Committee, in keeping with the bi-partisan character of this nation-wide movement in the churches and synagogues. The leaders of organized religion believe that there are good men and true, and good women and true, also, in both parties, who are convinced that the coming peace must not become the football of a partisan campaign; and they feel that unless both parties present to the world a united front on the essentials of our foreign policy, the United States will not only risk losing its world leadership, but jeopardize the coming peace as well.

What better way could there be of taking the peace out of politics, and at the same time making sure that the United States will stand four-square for a morally sound peace settlement, than for both parties to subscribe to these minimum moral essentials of a just and lasting peace as proclaimed with such earnestness by the recognized leaders of the three great faiths of our great country ?

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# Pattern's Progress

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Address Communications to the Editors: Rev. Edward S. Conway, S. J. and Rev. Richard M. Fagley

Bulletin #7

Room 1005, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York 11, N. Y.

July 26, 1944

## PATTERN PRESENTED TO DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION

In their separate introduction to the Pattern for Peace the Protestant signers wrote: "We appeal to our constituency to give heed to the foregoing proposals enunciated by Protestants, Catholics, and Jews, which must find expression in national policies". In their preamble, the Jewish signers declared: "The Synagogue therefore calls upon its adherents, both as citizens and as Jews, to seek after the implementation of these principles". The Catholic introduction begins with these words: "We present for the consideration of all men of good will the foregoing postulates of a just peace as embodying principles of the moral law and their prime applications to world problems of our day. To our mind they express the minimum requirements of a peace which Christians can endorse as fair to all men".

All three groups, it is apparent, desire that the principles of the Pattern should be given consideration by the policy makers of the nation. But the policy makers cannot be expected to give the Pattern that consideration unless it is presented to them. The Pattern must, therefore, be presented to any and all groups who might, conceivably, have a hand in the determination of the nation's peace policy. Obviously, the platform committees of the two political parties fall under that designation. Hence it was determined to present the Pattern at the hearings of both committees. This was done at the Republication convention by Father Conway (cf. Pattern's Progress, Supplement # 6, June 28, 1944). At the Democratic convention the Pattern figured prominently in the full-dress hearings on foreign policy held by the entire Resolutions Committee on Wednesday, July 19. Dean Charles W. Gilkey, Dean of the Chicago University Chapel and Trustee of the Church Peace Union, as well as Father Conway, spoke in support of the Pattern. The former declared that the Pattern was the "finest example of inter-faith cooperation I have encountered in my thirty-five years as a Protestant minister". After recounting the history of the Pattern negotiations and the progress of the campaign to popularize the Pattern by civic mass-meetings throughout the country, both speakers laid special emphasis on the fifth principle which calls for the organization of international institutions to maintain peace with justice. Father Conway said in conclusion:

"On the basis of these facts, ladies and gentlemen of the Committee, I want to assure you that if your platform declares in favor of American participation in a bona fide international organization to maintain peace with justice, it will be perfectly in harmony with the scores of official Church and Synagogue peace statements epitomized in Article Five of the Pattern for Peace, and perfectly in harmony with what is now being taught throughout the country in the Pattern for Peace programs by Catholic, Jewish and Protestant leaders."





### CONGREGATIONAL POST-WAR STATEMENT

Another presentation before the Democratic Platform Committee was made by Mr. Allen T. Burns, Chairman of the Congregational Christian Post-War Committee. He spoke in behalf of the statement adopted unanimously by the General Council of that denomination on June 27. The statement reinforces the basic objectives of the Pattern's fifth principle, urging the churches to support:

American participation in an international organization for world cooperation...which should work for the protection of international order through the delegation to it of adequate authority and resources to make and enforce decisions on controversies between nations, without requiring unanimous consent; prevention of war by international supervision and control of armaments; revision of treaties whenever justice and common sense demand it; cooperation for world trade, employment, currency stabilization and equitable access to raw materials; and supervision of the treatment of all subject peoples, that ultimately they may achieve nationhood and autonomy or voluntary full participation in a larger political unit.

The statement also calls for cooperation "with members of all faiths who share our convictions on moral principles". Earlier, copies of the Pattern had been sent to all Congregational pastors, as material for sermons on world order.

### PATTERN FOR PEACE AT COLGATE

The Second Annual Citizens Conference on Peace Issues sponsored by eighteen New York State organizations and assisted by six national organizations including the Church Peace Union, the Carnegie Endowment and the Twentieth Century Fund, held this year at Colgate University, Hamilton, New York, July 26-31. A new feature of the Conference was a Sunday morning session devoted to the Pattern for Peace. The two hour meeting was addressed by Rabbi Israel Goldstein, Rev. Edward A. Conway, S.J., and Rev. Harold Nicely. The Conference was attended by 250 men and women from 100 New York State communities "gathered to gain information and inspiration for the immense grass roots job of planning and building public opinion for the peace back home".

### PATTERN PROGRAM PLANNED FOR KANSAS CITY

A recently organized call committee in Kansas City, Mo., has issued an invitation to 500 civic leaders to attend an organization meeting September 7 to lay plans for a civic mass-meeting on the Pattern for Peace. Members of the call committee are: Most Reverend Edwin V. O'Hara, Reverend R. Park Johnson, (acting secretary), Rabbi Samuel S. Mayerberg, Mr. R. Carter Tucker, Mr. Millard Meyer, and Mr. Maurice J. O'Sullivan.

### DETAILS OF TOLEDO PROGRAM

Further information on the highly successful Toledo program to promote the Pattern has been received from the Rev. C. Clark Shedd, executive secretary of the Council of Churches. A Coordinating Committee of seven, composed of Mr. Shedd and two clerical and lay representatives from each of the three faiths, was in charge of the program. Two weeks before the week of intensive city-wide study, letters were sent to clergymen and lay leaders throughout the city. A week later a reply card was sent out, listing the proposed functions and inviting





participation. During the special week, full and half-page ads, paid for by some 129 business firms, gave the full text of the Pattern, and the heads of the seven principles were carried on car-cards in public conveyances. Forty thousand copies of the Pattern were distributed and the text printed in many church bulletins. Each day during the week, editorials and two articles of appreciation regarding the Pattern by representative citizens of Toledo were printed in the papers. Sermons and Sunday School Classes on the concluding day, May 7, were devoted to this theme. Toledo has itself set a desirable pattern for other communities.

#### NEW PEACE BOOK HIGHLY RECOMMENDED

A World to Reconstruct, by Guido Gonella of the staff of the Osservatore Romano has just been published by Bruce of Milwaukee under the auspices of the Bishop's Committee on the Pope's Peace Points, of which Archbishop Stritch of Chicago is chairman. The new volume carries a preface by the Apostolic Delegate, Archbishop Cicognani, and a presentation by Archbishop Stritch. It may safely be concluded that this commentary on the papal peace program contains the authentic Catholic teaching on world peace. It is especially interesting to note, therefore, the complete agreement of Gonella with the various pro-positions of the Pattern for Peace. Not only Catholics, but all who are preparing explanations of the principles of the Pattern, will find excellent commentaries ready to hand in the chapters of Gonella.

(A World to Reconstruct, 335 pp. \$3.50, Bruce Publishing Co., Milwaukee)

#### PROFESSOR MERCIER ON THE PATTERN

In an article entitled, "The Churches and Peace" (America, July 8, 1944) Professor Louis J.A. Mercier, laureate of the French Academy, and Harvard educator, shows how to apply the principles of the Pattern for Peace to current political trends. Professor Mercier writes in part:

"The one consoling fact in these days of temptation to compromise, besides the constant call of the Papacy for a peace based on justice, is that, both in England and the United States, Catholic, Protestant and Jewish religious leaders have found a way to get together and to formulate the principles of a pattern for peace... which at once lifts American aspirations above the plane of unethical opportunism. There are no equivocations in their statements, no compromise. They give us back the philosophy of the Declaration of Independence, the principle of the dignity of all men and of all nations."

"There we have the saving pattern. The plea this article would make is that, in view of the emergency, it be backed up vigorously and at once. It should be taken up by all the churches in the United States, and made a subject of discussion in their pulpits, in their conferences, in all the associations and clubs they foster."

Editorial Comment: Professor Mercier's plea is very much in order. National leaders of the three faiths have each called upon their adherents to organize a vigorous program of study and education. Some strikingly effective programs have been carried out in a few centers. Yet neither the proposals of national leaders nor the examples of successful programs have as yet evoked an adequate response. The next step is up to religious leaders in every part of the United States. Civic gatherings and study groups need to be organized systematically, city by city and state by state. The Pattern points the way ahead. It is high time for every supporter to help public opinion to move forward in the same direction. -  
The Editors.





# Pattern's Progress

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Address Communications to the Editors: Rev. Edward A. Conway, S. J. and Rev. Richard M. Fagley

Room 1005, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York 11, N. Y.

Supplement #7

July 27, 1944

## THE PATTERN AND THE PLATFORMS: A COMPARISON

By Richard M. Fagley

1. The organization of a just peace depends upon practical recognition of the fact that not only individuals but nations, states and international society are subject to the sovereignty of God and to the moral law which comes from God.

### DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM

World peace is of transcendent importance. America has the opportunity to lead the world in this great service to mankind. The United States must meet the challenge. Under divine Providence, she must move forward to her high destiny.

### REPUBLICAN PLATFORM

We believe that peace and security do not depend upon the sanction of force alone, but should prevail by virtue of reciprocal interests and spiritual values recognized in these security agreements. ....Organized cooperation of the nations should....promote a world opinion to influence the nations to right conduct.....

2. The dignity of the human person as the image of God must be set forth in all its essential implications in an international declaration of rights and be vindicated by the positive action of national governments and international organization. States as well as individuals must repudiate racial, religious or other discrimination in violation of those rights.

We pledge our support to the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms, and the application of the principles enunciated therein to the United Nations and other peace-loving nations, large and small.... We believe in the world right of all men to write, send and publish news at uniform communication rates and without interference by governmental or private monopoly and that right should be protected by treaty.

We unreservedly condemn the injection into American life of appeals to racial or religious prejudice....

It is imperative to the maintenance of a free America that the press and radio be free and that full and complete information be available to Americans.... All channels of news must be kept open with equality of access to information at the source. If agreement can be achieved with foreign nations to establish the same principles, it will be a valuable contribution to future peace....

We pledge ourselves to uphold with all our strength the Bill of Rights....

We pledge the establishment by Federal legislation of a permanent Fair Employment Practice Commission.





3. The rights of all peoples, large and small, subject to the good of the organized world community, must be safeguarded within the framework of collective security. The progress of undeveloped, colonial or oppressed peoples toward political responsibility must be the object of international concern.

#### DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM

We favor the opening of Palestine to unrestricted Jewish immigration and colonization, and such a policy as to result in the establishment there of a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth....We favor enactment of legislation granting the fullest measure of self-government for Alaska, Hawaii and Puerto Rico and eventual Statehood for Alaska and Hawaii.

#### REPUBLICAN PLATFORM

The treaties of peace should be just; the nations which are victims of aggression should be restored to sovereignty and self-government....

Hawaii, which shares the nation's obligations equally with the several States, is entitled to the fullest measure of home rule looking toward Statehood; and to equality with the several states in the rights of their citizens and in the application of all our national laws. Alaska is entitled to the fullest measure of home rule looking toward Statehood. Statehood is a logical aspiration of the people of Puerto Rico who were made citizens of the United States by Congress in 1917; legislation affecting Puerto Rico, in so far as feasible, should be in harmony with the realization of that aspiration.

In order to give refuge to millions of distressed Jewish men, women and children driven from their homes by tyranny, we call for the opening of Palestine to their unrestricted immigration and land ownership, so that in accordance with the full intent and purpose of the Balfour Declaration of 1917 and the resolution of a Republican Congress in 1922, Palestine may be constituted as a free and democratic commonwealth....

4. National governments and international organization must respect and guarantee the rights of ethnic, religious and cultural minorities to economic livelihood, to equal opportunity for educational and cultural development, and to political equality.

We believe that racial and religious minorities have the right to live, develop and vote equally with all citizens and share the rights that are guaranteed by our Constitution. Congress should exert its full constitutional powers to protect those rights.

We pledge an immediate Congressional inquiry to ascertain the extent to which mistreatment, segregation and discrimination against Negroes who are in our armed forces are impairing morale and efficiency and the adoption of corrective legislation.





5. An enduring peace requires the organization of international institutions which will develop a body of international law; guarantee the faithful fulfillment of international obligations, and revise them when necessary; assure collective security by drastic limitation and continuing control of armaments, compulsory arbitration and adjudication of controversies, and the use when necessary of adequate sanctions to enforce the law.

#### DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM

We pledge:

To join with the other United Nations in the establishment of an international organization based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving States, open to membership by all such States, large and small, for the prevention of aggression and the maintenance of international peace and security; to make all necessary and effective agreements and arrangements through which the nations would maintain adequate forces to meet the needs of preventing war and of making impossible the preparation for war and which would have such forces available for joint action when necessary. Such organization must be endowed with power to employ armed forces when necessary to prevent aggression and preserve peace. We favor the maintenance of an international court of justice of which the United States shall be a member and the employment of diplomacy, conciliation, arbitration and other like methods where appropriate in the settlement of international disputes.

6. International economic collaboration to assist all states to provide an adequate standard of living for their citizens must replace the present economic monopoly and exploitation of natural resources by privileged groups and states.

We shall extend the trade policies initiated by the present Administration....

We believe that without loss of sovereignty, world development and lasting peace are within humanity's

#### REPUBLICAN PLATFORM

We favor responsible participation by the United States in post-war cooperative organization among sovereign nations to prevent military aggression and to attain permanent peace with organized justice in a free world. Such organization should develop effective cooperative means to direct peace forces to prevent or repel military aggression. Pending this, we pledge continuing collaboration with the United Nations to assure these ultimate objectives.... Organized cooperation of the nations should develop international law and maintain an international tribunal to deal with justiciable disputes.

We shall seek, in our relations with other nations, conditions calculated to promote world-wide economic stability, not only for the sake of the world, but also to the end that our own people may enjoy a high level of employment in an





grasp. They will come with the greater enjoyment of those freedoms by the peoples of the world, and with the freer flow among them of ideas and goods.

increasingly prosperous world.

We assure American farmers, livestock producers, workers and industry that we will establish and maintain a fair protective tariff on competitive products so that the standards of living of our people shall not be impaired through the importation of commodities produced abroad by labor or producers functioning upon lower standards than our own. If the post-war world is to be properly organized, a great extension of world trade will be necessary to repair the wastes of war and build an enduring peace. The Republican party....pledges that it will join with others in leadership in every cooperative effort to remove unnecessary and destructive barriers to international trade....

We favor the prompt extension of relief and emergency assistance to the peoples of the liberated countries without duplication and conflict between Government agencies. We favor immediate feeding of the starving children of our Allies and friends in the Nazi-dominated countries and we condemn the New Deal Administration for its failure, in the face of humanitarian demands, to make any effort to do this. We favor assistance by direct credits in reasonable amounts to liberated countries to enable them to buy from this country the goods necessary to revive their economic systems.

7. Since the harmony and well-being of the world community are intimately bound up with the internal equilibrium and social order of the individual states, steps must be taken to provide for the security of the family, the collaboration of all groups and classes in the interest of the common good, a standard of living adequate for self-development and family life, decent conditions of work, and participation by labor in decisions affecting its welfare.

#### DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM

We pledge the continuance and improvement of these programs (a new Magna Carta for labor; social security, including old age pensions, unemployment insurance, security for crippled and dependent children and the blind; employment offices; Federal Bank deposit insurance; flood prevention; soil conservation; profitable prices for

#### REPUBLICAN PLATFORM

Our goal is to prevent hardship and poverty in America. That goal is attainable by reason of the productive ability of free American labor, industry and agriculture, if supplemented by a system of social security on sound principles. We pledge our support of the following (extension of the existing old-age insurance and unemployment insurance systems to all employees not already





farm products; reclamation; hydro-electric power; mineral development).

We offer these post-war programs: price guarantees and crop insurance to farmers with all practical steps; to keep agriculture on a parity with industry and labor; to foster the success of the small independent farmer; to aid the home ownership of family-sized farms; to extend rural electrification and develop broader domestic and foreign markets for agricultural products; adequate compensation for workers during demobilization; the enactment of such additional humanitarian, labor, social and farm legislation as time and experience may require, including the amendment or repeal of any law enacted in recent years which has failed to accomplish its purpose; promotion of the success of small business....

covered....a careful study of Federal-State programs for maternal and child health, dependent children, and assistance to the blind; health and housing programs, etc.)....

The Republican Party accepts the purposes of the National Labor Relations Act, the Wage and Hour Act, the Social Security Act and all other Federal statutes designed to promote and protect the welfare of American working men and women, and we promise a fair and just administration of these laws....

Educational progress and the social and economic stability and well-being of the farm family must be a prime national purpose. (Ten measures proposed)....

Small business is the basis of American enterprise. It must be preserved. (Several measures proposed).





## "LET OUR HEARTS BE STOUT"

### A Prayer by the President of the United States

Almighty God: Our sons, pride of our nation, this day have set upon a mighty endeavor, a struggle to preserve our Republic, our religion and our civilization, and to set free a suffering humanity.

Lead them straight and true; give strength to their arms, stoutness to their hearts, steadfastness in their faith.

They will need Thy blessings. Their road will be long and hard. For the enemy is strong. He may hurl back our forces. Success may not come with rushing speed, but we shall return again and again; and we know that by Thy grace, and by the righteousness of our cause, our sons will triumph.

They will be sore tried, by night and by day, without rest - until the victory is won. The darkness will be rent by noise and flame. Men's souls will be shaken with the violences of war.

For these men are lately drawn from the ways of peace. They fight not for the lust of conquest. They fight to end conquest. They fight to liberate. They fight to let justice arise, and tolerance and good-will among all Thy people. They yearn but for the end of battle, for their return to the haven of home.

Some will never return. Embrace these, Father, and receive them, Thy heroic servants, into Thy kingdom.

And for us at home - fathers, mothers, children, wives, sisters and brothers of brave men overseas, whose thoughts and prayers are ever with them - help us, Almighty God, to rededicate ourselves in renewed faith in Thee in this hour of great sacrifice.

Many people have urged that I call the nation into a single day of special prayer. But because the road is long and the desire is great, I ask that our people devote themselves in a continuance of prayer. As we rise to each new day, and again when each day is spent, let words of prayer be on our lips, invoking Thy help to our efforts.

Give us strength, too - strength in our daily tasks, to redouble the contributions we make in the physical and the material support of our armed forces.

And let our hearts be stout, to wait out the long travail, to bear sorrows that may come, to impart our courage unto our sons wheresoever they may be.

And, O Lord, give us faith. Give us faith in Thee; faith in our sons, faith in each other; faith in our united crusade. Let not the keenness of our spirit ever be dulled. Let not the impacts of temporary events, of temporal matters of but fleeting moment - let not these deter us in our unconquerable purpose.

With Thy blessing, we shall prevail over the unholy forces of our enemy. Help us to conquer the apostles of greed and racial arrogances. Lead us to the saving of our country, and with our sister nations into a world unity that will spell a sure peace - a peace invulnerable to the schemings of unworthy men. And a peace that will let all men live in freedom, reaping the just rewards of their honest toil.

Thy will be done, Almighty God. Amen.



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# UNION FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION

120 EAST 16th STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y., GRAMERCY 5-4779

THOMAS R. AMLIE, Director  
Washington Bureau  
1341 Connecticut Ave., N.W.  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Friend:

This war is going to be won or lost depending upon our immediate action. "Our" means you and all the rest of us, the people of the United States. It is our war and we must win it.

Today we are faced by the alternative of electing a CONGRESS FOR VICTORY in the coming elections or of being saddled with a Congress capable only of inviting defeat. Men who would begin defending America, if at all, at the beachheads of Coney Island and in the foxholes of San Diego; men who regard President Roosevelt as the enemy taking precedence over Hitler; men who sabotage aid to Russia at the moment when the Russians are shedding their best blood in our common cause; these men are the enemies of the American people.

Together with this letter we are sending you our complete analysis of the issues and the men in the coming elections prepared in cooperation with the NEW REPUBLIC.

The time for effective action is short. The Union for Democratic Action proposes to acquaint the American people with the actual voting records of their Congressmen on the great issues of the past several years during which American policy was being shaped and the American future being decided. We are convinced that, once the facts are known, those candidates will be elected whose records indicate their support of the democratic aspirations of the American people and of the world-wide cause of democracy.

This conviction is fortified by the frenzied reaction which resulted from the recent publication of this analysis. The chorus of denunciation, inspired by the obstructionist press—notably the Chicago Tribune—and given voice on the floors of Congress by the gentlemen who have most to lose by disclosure of the truth, will not deter us. To win this war and the peace which will follow, we must place our fortunes in the hands of those candidates for public office who do not fear the truth and, indeed, welcome it.

We need your help in raising the minimum \$50,000 necessary to finance this campaign. We need gifts of \$1,000, \$500, \$100, \$25 and \$1.00. Anything you can contribute to the election of a CONGRESS FOR VICTORY will be of the greatest importance in the determination of our country's future. We consider this the most important civilian job from now until November. We need volunteers and help all along the line. We count you among the fighters for democracy. What will you do in this campaign? Please let us have your generous response immediately. We must not waste time—it is too precious an asset in this struggle.

Sincerely yours,

*Albert Sprague Coolidge*

Albert Sprague Coolidge

*William Allan Neilson*

William Allan Neilson

*Reinhold Niebuhr*

Reinhold Niebuhr

*Thomas R. Amlie*

Thomas R. Amlie

*A. Philip Randolph*

A. Philip Randolph

*Frank Kingdon*

Frank Kingdon

*"A two-front fight for democracy—at home and abroad."*



## The Record

ON NOVEMBER 5 one-third of the members of the Senate and all of the members of the House of Representatives will be placed on trial before the American people. They will be judged on their records.

The two-year record on which these members of Congress will be judged will be: did you aid America to prepare herself for the supreme test of survival which she is now called upon to make; or did you hinder and obstruct that effort? Did you aid or hinder our program of armament production? Did you aid or hinder our program of helping the allies who today are fighting by our side? Did you aid or hinder the building of our strength on the home front?

Every member of Congress will of course plead not guilty. But how many should be sustained? Only the record can answer.

It is a varied record. It is a record of willful obstruction, distortion, deceit. But it is willful deceit on the part of only a small minority within Congress, and because all attacks which are leveled against the Congress as such must weaken the faith of our people in our democracy, we cannot overemphasize the fact that it is only a minority which should be judged guilty. Our Congress is filled with many outstanding men. It is made up in the main of honest, sincere men who wholeheartedly believe in our democracy. It is the minority of obstructionists within Congress which has given to the entire Congress its bad name. Therefore our democracy demands that the story of the actions of this minority be told.

So we turn back to the first days of the Seventy-seventh Congress, the last days of world peace.

## The Opening Round

AUGUST, 1939: the sky is darkening over Europe as the time of harvest, which brought the world to the brink of war in 1938, again approaches. In Germany, Hitler lifts his young men to a frenzy in violent, scornful attacks upon "degenerate democracy." In Britain and France the people demand that a stand be made against fascist aggression.

In America President Roosevelt makes a last, courageous attempt to hold back the coming war. He asks Congress to repeal the arms-embargo provision of the Neutrality Act in the hope that the Nazis will be checked by the knowledge that America will aid the democracies. In the House of Representatives the obstructionists who distort the President's purpose fail to block repeal. But in the Senate they are successful. Senator Borah scoffs at Secretary Hull's grave warning. "My information is that there will be no war," Borah says. Two months later he is to say, "It was not our intention to prevent war in Europe."

So the repeal of the embargo is killed by the threat of a few willful men in the Senate to filibuster the bill to death. Sadly and with misgiving the President watches the Congress go home. Senator Nye declares triumphantly that the danger of war is less than it has been for years, thanks to America's refusal to encourage the warmongers in the British and French governments. It is thirty-five days before the outbreak of Hitler's War of Annihilation, our War of Survival.

\* \* \*

The declaration of war on September 3, 1939, brought the congressmen back to Washington. It brought Ham Fish back from Europe, where, in August, he had held a conference with Nazi Foreign Min-

ister von Ribbentrop in Salzburg. He then attended the meeting of the Inter-Parliamentary Union at Oxford where he proposed a second Munich. On August 10 an Associated Press dispatch from Berlin stated that "Representative Fish said today that he believes that many's claims are 'just.' 'I favor liquidation of the Versailles Treaty in the East,' he added." Fish returned steeped in Nazi propaganda methods. "I found Danzig 97-percent Nazi," he told the Congress. "It was incredible to me that there could be a war about Danzig." Later Fish told the House: "We believed that if assurances had not been given . . . there would have been some settlement over Danzig and if war had taken place it would have been in the direction of Soviet Russia."

As ranking minority member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, Fish directed the two-and-a-half-year fight in the House against the government's foreign policy. Fish made the opening speeches in which he laid down the line that the opposition was to take was laid down. Fish controlled the opposition speeches and the caucuses in the House lobbies. Fifty to seventy Republicans consistently followed his leadership, praising his attitude and defending him against attack.

In calling together the special session, the President requested the Congress to place our foreign trade on a cash-and-carry basis. He asked that the arms embargo be lifted and that American ships be banned from belligerent zones. Both of these were measures of self-defense. The naming of belligerent zones was a necessary precaution. The lifting of the embargo was essential to any allied resistance to the Nazi armies. Britain and France were desperately short of planes, having a combined air force one-quarter the size of Germany's.



Together they had placed orders for more than five thousand planes, but the arms embargo forbade the export of these planes from America. To allow these two nations to finance the construction of more than seventy large factories, providing for a much needed armaments industry, was obviously a defense measure as well as a means of checking German expansion. For on July 1, 1940," Undersecretary of War Patterson told the Truman Committee, "our munitions industry was virtually nonexistent; quantity production for military airplanes was unknown; we had few facilities for the production of tanks and guns. The government arsenals were wholly inadequate."

Certainly repeal meant taking the side of democracy in the war. Certainly it involved some risk of ultimate involvement, as did letting Germany win. But these were not immediate issues in 1939, although they were in the minds of most congressmen. The sincere concern of these men was shamelessly exploited and distorted by the obstructionists under Fish's leadership.

Fish maintained, first, that repeal was an act of war. Thus he tried to bring all the weight of the anti-war sentiment in Congress to bear against repeal. It was "utterly unmoral, utterly un-Christian and vicious." "This campaign of hysteria, emotionalism, hatred and poisonous propaganda," Fish added, "has for its sole purpose sending American youth to the battlefields."

This falsehood was taken up in Congress. "A bloody, unholy, immoral business," said Senator Clark. "The submersion of our whole economic system and our institutions of government in a sea of blood." "It is but a step short of a declaration of war," asserted Representative Maas, "and one is very likely to follow the other." "Has it come to the point where America must raise a crop of boys every twenty years to be slaughtered in Europe?" asked Representative Engel. Rep. Dewey Short shrewdly played upon the congressmen's hatred of war by assuming that the repeal meant war. "I can see mustard gas eating the flesh from the emaciated bones of the starving and dying," he said. "I can hear the agonizing cries of men with their eyes burned out by liquid fire." A vote for repeal, he implied, was a vote for these horrors.

A second factor which led the Republicans to hesitate in supporting the government's policy was that it meant supporting the President. Hatred of the President was expressed in its extreme form during the debate by a Fish partisan, Clare Hoffman, who called the conservative Representative Woodrum a "New Deal . . . skunk" and added that anyone but a skunk could smell the stink that goes up from the chicanery in the White House." Once again Fish and his followers attempted to prevent the Republicans from patriotically supporting the government's policy, by playing on this hatred of the President and asserting that any bill passed by Congress at the President's request would aid the President in becoming a dictator.

"Roosevelt has already committed this country to go into the war," Fish shouted, and demanded his impeachment. "Repeal of the arms embargo," Fish added, "gives the President . . . the war-making powers of the Congress." "Repeal of the arms embargo," echoed Fish's supporter, Representative Youngdahl, "is the first step towards the loss of freedom and democratic institutions on this continent." "Can the President only serve his country by violating the Constitution?" asked Representative Crawford. "The bill is founded upon the discretionary powers of the President," said Representative Anderson. "Too much discretionary authority has already been vested in the President." "I do not intend to vote our New Deal Führer the vast discretionary authority vested in this fake neutrality bill," said Representative Schaefer, who went on to denounce "Finkelstein, alias Litvinov," and the "British-Israel World Federation."

A third device exploited by the obstructionists was to play upon the distrust of the Allies. In many ugly speeches Fish smeared Britain and France. His remarks were followed by speeches such as that of Representative Alexander, who said: "The death knell of the British empire has been sounded. Do we want to fasten ourselves to the tail of a kite of a rotten, decayed and dying member of the society of nations?" In the Senate, Senator Reynolds implied that the British had sunk the Athenia, with its loss of 263 lives. Senator Clark stated that "Britain and France have placed themselves in the role of aggressors and neither deserve our support nor shall they have it." Senator Nye stated that British persecution was incomparably worse than the crimes of the Nazis. Senator Lundeen spoke of "the sword of the French empire dripping with blood." These Senators fought again the American revolution and the War of 1812. They excoriated Cromwell, and wept for Joan of Arc, murdered by British soldiers.

Fish and the group of obstructionists played also upon two other arguments. They denied at all times that America was in any way threatened by Germany, even going so far as to assert that Britain was more dangerous to America than the Nazis. They exploited at the same time the widespread fear of communism, and argued that the defeat of Hitler might be a disaster. "I do not want to see any American lives sacrificed to oust Hitler and pave the way for communism in Germany," Fish said.

"Confusion, indecision, fear: these," Hitler said, "are my weapons." The Republicans' leadership, under Representative Joseph Martin, accepted the twisted arguments of the obstructionists and instructed its congressmen to oppose repeal. For two and a half years, precisely the same twisted arguments were dragged into every crucial debate in Congress, creating confusion and fear in America. In these ways Hitler's weapons were sharpened for him by Americans.



# The Selective-Service Debate

IN AUGUST, 1940, the Senate met to consider the selective-service bill. Germany had overwhelmed France. The Battle of Britain, which reached its height during the debate upon the bill, tested England's strength to the utmost, and, had it been successful, would certainly have been followed by an invasion. In Britain there were 2,000 pieces of artillery of all kinds, enough to defend a few miles of coastline and no more. Britain was almost helpless. Had Britain fallen, Asia and the Western Hemisphere would have lain open before Hitler.

In Britain's most desperate hour, when starvation and defeat were close at hand, President Roosevelt transferred to the British fifty obsolete destroyers. Without any doubt these destroyers saved Britain, and in exchange America was leased bases which greatly strengthened our defenses. The American people eagerly accepted this action; it was endorsed by Wendell Willkie. In Congress, however, the exchange was widely denounced. "Treachery!" Clare Hoffman cried, and demanded that Roosevelt be impeached. "Virtually an act of war," shouted Fish. "An act of war," Representative Hansen answered.

What if Germany had attacked America? What army did the United States have to face the Reichswehr? Enough to defend a part of Rhode Island. "Within the United States we had no field army of any kind," General Marshall told the Truman Committee in 1941. "We had the pieces of about three and a half divisions, approximately 50-percent complete as to personnel. We had virtually no corps troops, almost no army troops or special troops. We had to organize from the ground up."

In 1939 the army was empowered to increase its troops to 227,000 men. At the same time war necessitated the reinforcing of American garrisons abroad. Volunteers were called for, and they responded at the rate of 20,000 a month. If the men who volunteered had ceased to grow older at the moment at which they became soldiers, this volunteer force would have given America an adequate army, as to size, in thirty years. In spirit it would have remained inadequate. It would have been undemocratic, and recruited largely from the unemployed, from men conscripted by hunger and the need of a job.

"We have to have a great many men very quickly," General Marshall warned. "I cannot conceive of being able to obtain them on a voluntary basis." In August, 1940, the selective-service bill was an urgent necessity, not for an aggressive foreign policy, but for defense.

Once again the obstructionists in Congress completely distorted the purpose of the bill and made dictatorship the principal issue of the debate. "Enact peacetime conscription and no longer will this be a

free land," Senator Wheeler said. "No longer will a citizen be able to say that he disagrees with a governmental proclamation or edict. Hushed whispers will replace free speech. Secret meetings in dark places will replace free assemblage. Labor and industry, men and women, will be shackled by the chains they themselves forged. If you pass this bill you slit the throat of the last democracy still living; you accord to Hitler the greatest and cheapest victory."

"Totalitarian!" Senator Taft cried. "The Hitler way," Senator Capper said. "Military despotism," added Senator Bulow. "Pass the conscription bill and dictatorship will soon be here." "The fastening of the yoke of militarism upon us," Senator Nye asserted, "is totalitarianism."

"This bill imposes on our country the National Socialism of Nazi Germany," Fish announced. "It will impose military dictatorship upon us," said Representative Keefe. "Dictatorial and tyrannical," was the cry of Dewey Short. "Inhuman, tyrannical, dictatorial legislation." "A major step toward dictatorship," said Mrs. Bolton. "This bill means military dictatorship and despotism," said Representative Dondero. "It assassinates our American ideals. Hitler methods!" said Representative Sweeney. According to Representative Jonkman, the proponents of the bill were "selling America into the slavery of dictatorship." "This is just such a bill," said Representative Ludlow, "as would associate with the German Reichstag or the Mussolini-dominated Parliament."

A few congressmen came close to the "better-Hitler-than-Blum" attitude of the French Chamber of 1940. "I do not fear any foreign power as much as I fear the concentration of power in the hands of a single individual" (Roosevelt), Representative Short said. "I consider New Deal leaders more dangerous to the United States than are the totalitarian leaders," said Representative Harness. Representative Barden suggested that the President's motive in asking for the passage of the bill was to establish his dictatorship before the 1940 election.

Throughout the debate the obstructionists denied that fascist aggression endangered America. "Japan has its hands full in its own country," said Senator Bulow. "I don't believe we are in any emergency," Senator Wheeler asserted. "The only emergency is in the minds of a few people who want to go to war." "We should not exaggerate the emergency," Senator Taft argued. "Do we fear Hitler?" cried Fish. "That is preposterous—craven and cowardly." Dewey Short also denied any threat from Germany. "Even if Britain succumbs," Short said in his speech, "do we need this bill? I say no!" He was given a rising ovation by the Republicans.



In the closing hours of the debate Fish suggested to the Democrats that they could save their political skins if they abstained from voting while the Republicans defeated the bill. Fish then introduced an amendment which provided in effect that no men would be drafted until after the November elections. The amendment passed by 185 to 155. The members saw to it, however, that they were not named in a record vote. The bill was then passed by 263 to 145.

Yet the bill was inadequate. The army had not wished to place a limit upon the service of the draftees, but under the pressure of Congress it was led to agree to a limitation of one year. As a result it was necessary, one year later, for the service of the selectees to be extended.

It was a difficult year for the young soldiers. There were inevitable hardships—inadequate food utensils, unfinished, unheated barracks, no transportation, poor training, mud. Worst of all, they had little equipment with which to train. Many of them had enlisted in order to complete their year of training as quickly as possible; they had opportunities and emotional ties in civilian life which made them long to return.

Yet it was necessary to extend their service. General Marshall testified that two-thirds of the army would be disrupted if the law were not changed.

Following the hearings upon the original Selective Service Act, a minority of the House Military Affairs Committee filed a report opposing it. The report was signed by Reps. Dewey Short, L. C. Arends, Paul W. Shafer, Thomas E. Martin, Charles E. Elston and Forrest T. Harness. The report discussed the perils of Fascist aggression and concluded that "the imminence of these perils is pure assumption."

One year later the same minority group, joined by Charles R. Clason, submitted a report against the extension of the draft. "The minority believes that the facts do not warrant a declaration [of national emergency] such as the President and General Marshall would have us make." The report stated, "We would destroy democracy here before we could extend it abroad. . . . To extend the service of selectees would likely be the prelude to another American expeditionary force." The report condemned the administration and the General Staff and added, "Only Congress can keep them in check." It agreed that the failure to extend the service of selectees would cause disruption "but not of the whole organization." The minority was willing to give the President the power to extend the service of the National Guard provided Congress could at any time revoke this power.

This attitude of obstruction was followed by the same small group in the House and Senate. The President could, by declaring a national emergency, have kept the army intact without congressional sanction; again he sought this sanction out of respect for democratic processes. Yet maintaining that he should have

acted in order to relieve them of the responsibility, the obstructionists again raised the deliberate falsification of the dictatorship issue. Senator Nye called it "the power that made Hitler and Mussolini." Senator Vandenberg spoke of "a needless expansion of executive authority." Senator O'Daniel, after praising at length the beauties of hillbilly music, called the bill "the path of the dictator." "The democracy will certainly die if pledges are not kept," said Senator Brooks.

"Authority to declare an undeclared war," cried Representative Shafer. Representative Blackney denounced these "new and greater delegations of power to the President." "A complete abdication by Congress," said Representative Mott.

During the debate, Japan moved into Indo-China and the new Japanese Prime Minister Tojo made his first warlike speeches. The resources of France were placed at Hitler's disposal. In the Philippines, the Philippine army was fully mobilized and placed in readiness under General MacArthur.

Yet the minority report stated that "The minority cannot agree that the national interest is imperiled more now than a year ago." Senator Danaher spoke of the "alleged state of national peril." "Oh, it is a dreadful peril," laughed Senator Johnson of California. "All the evidence points to a day-by-day lessening of the peril," said Representative Shafer. "The war scare fails," announced Clare Hoffman. "The bill is entirely unnecessary," said Representative Woodruff. Representative Pheiffer scorned "perils to our national security which have not been proved to exist," and Ditter dismissed Marshall's "dogmatic opinions."

All this two months before Pearl Harbor! Two months before Pearl Harbor the contribution of Martin Dies to the debate was to urge ridding the government of "communists" such as Leon Henderson! Senator Wheeler publicized letters from draftees who spoke of desertion and so extended them his protection. The solution of Senator Wheeler and of at least one-half of the 202 congressmen who opposed the bill was to return to a volunteer army, an idea rejected a year before as entirely impracticable. Yet these men complained of American unreadiness.

In the closing moments of the debate Representative Eliot of Massachusetts, with the support of more than fifty of the President's followers, proposed an amendment which would not have damaged the army. But Representative Dirksen declared, "There will be no compromise." "Do not be lured by this kind of blandishment," Dirksen told the Republicans. "We are faced with a problem of resolving a principle."

The obstructionists spoke of their promises to the draftees, as if their promises were more important than America's safety. They spoke of breaking the faith with a few young men; but what of keeping the faith with America? By a single vote in Congress, in a crucial hour, that faith was sustained.



## The Lease-Lend Bill

IN THE OPENING MONTHS OF 1941, the future of the war, of American democracy and of freedom the world over were concentrated into a single issue in the lease-lend bill. In the three months in which the bill was debated in Congress, Yugoslavia resisted the Axis and was overwhelmed; Greece was finally forced to her knees; Britain suffered her most terrible losses in Crete. The isolationist group attempted to present the issue as one of war or peace. But the issue was resistance or surrender.

The President faced this issue. "We are committed to the proposition that principles of morality and consideration for our security will never permit us to acquiesce in a peace dictated by aggressors and sponsored by appeasers," Mr. Roosevelt told Congress in his annual message. In sending the lease-lend bill to Congress early in January, he praised the resistance of the British people. "But," the President added, "the time is near when they will not be able to pay in ready cash. We cannot, and we will not, tell them they must surrender merely because of present inability to pay for the weapons which we know they must have."

In January, 1941, the issue actually was: Would we allow Britain to be starved into capitulation to the Nazis because her means of buying weapons in the United States had been exhausted? By January Britain had paid the United States one and a third billion dollars for arms. She had financed six hundred million dollars' worth of new factories—for us. She had contracted for one and a third billion dollars more of new supplies, to last about four months. She had no resources to contract for any more. "Lacking a formula by which Britain can buy supplies here, I think Britain will just have to stop fighting," Secretary Morgenthau told a Senate hearing on January 28.

In sixteen months of war Britain had beggared her resources in America for the privilege of holding the front lines of democracy. There was no glory in what we had done. We had enriched ourselves, had profiteered from Britain's plight. Would we now tell her that she must capitulate because we had no further interest in a war in which we were not paid at once, or would we place our resources behind her? Despite the President, Senator Wheeler and other obstructionists followed the line of ex-Colonel Lindbergh, declaring openly in favor of "a negotiated peace." A negotiated peace! What could Britain negotiate in January, 1941—helpless and lacking arms—before a triumphant, irresistible Germany? A Hitler-dictated peace, crippling democracy in England and leaving Hitler in command of all his ill gotten gains.

To overcome Britain's lack of resources, while avoiding the stigma of loans, with interest payments and war debts, the lease-lend bill provided that the government

could authorize the manufacture of defense articles for other governments whose resistance was vital to defense, and lease or lend these supplies. In this way the bill heightened the efficiency of the expanding defense program by bringing all procurement under government. But Britain's need was too desperate to be met by the slowly growing production of American arms. The America Firster, John Cudahy, testified that only the transfer of 800,000 American army rifles to Britain, after Dunkirk, saved Britain from defeat. It was essential that more supplies from American armaments stocks be sent to Britain. The President in a truly democratic way sought congressional sanction for these transfers in Section One of the lease-lend bill.

When the bill was published, all the resources of the Nazis and the appeasers in America were brought to bear upon it. America First held emergency meetings throughout the nation. The German-American Bund issued emergency instructions to its sympathizers. "Protest against the Treason Bill HR-1776!" the instructions said; "Send your protest to your Senator or Congressman or to Senator Burton K. Wheeler. Write '*The Congress of the United States has no right to surrender its power to the President.*'"

The minority of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, led by Fish, shared this approach to the bill. "We cannot repeal bankruptcy and we cannot repeal dictatorship," the minority report said. "Under this bill we surrender our domestic way of life now." With sickening hypocrisy, the report stated, "We are all for aid to Britain short of sacrificing our freedom." It proposed to lend Britain two billion dollars, enough to go on fighting and suffering alone for five months. Luther Johnson of Texas exposed this sham. "It is like granting a man who is sinking, money with which to buy a life belt," Johnson said.

In the lease-lend bill the President sought increased freedom of action to aid Britain. He did not ask for substantially increased powers. An impartial legal authority, George Rublee, declared that "this measure does not add to the powers the President already has as Commander-in-Chief of the nation's armed forces. When, nevertheless, the charge of dictatorship was made, Senator Austin, a Republican from Vermont and an outstanding jurist in the Senate, replied: "The attempt has been made to charge that the bill goes beyond the constitutional limits of Congress, that it creates power. Nonsense! Utter nonsense! There is not in this bill the least attempt to delegate a primary power."

Under Fish's direction, fifty-eight of the sixty-eight Representatives who spoke against the lease-lend bill in debate charged that it created a dictatorship, and fought it principally upon these grounds. Fifty of the



men were Republicans. Only three Republicans, James Wadsworth of New York, Charles L. Gifford of Massachusetts and Charles A. Plumley of Vermont, supported the bill.

"This dictator-war-bankruptcy bill," Fish shouted, "this slick device to further regiment America. . . . This betrayal of the constitutional power! . . . Under the guise of aiding democracies and fighting dictatorship abroad it destroys democracy at home and sets up American dictatorship. . . . The passage of this bill would be the death knell of Republican government and virtually the end of Congress. It will leave us with no more authority than the German Reichstag. . . . If the bill passes, I predict that within six months we will have dictatorship comparable to the Nazis and Communists."

"Reichstag! Reichstag!" echoed Representatives Van Zandt and Knutson. "Members who vote for this bill will be voting for . . . an American Reichstag," Representative Ludlow cried. Representative Woodruff denounced "these sinister and suspicious demands for dictatorship powers." "It is portentous, forbidding! Frightful! Stupefying!" gasped Representative Jenkins. "A proposal for setting up a dictatorship!" said Representative Blackney. "A death blow for freedom," Representative Barry of New York cried. Representative Peterson denounced "these unlimited and despotic powers." "The complete abdication of Congress," cried Representative Dondero. "Fascism for America," Representative Pheiffer declared. "These powers make the President a dictator," asserted Representative Ploeser. "The real germ of the bill," said Representative Jenkins, "is the insatiable ambition of the President, backed by the moneyed influences against whom Hitler has committed some special act which they resent." "This bill is a war bill, a dictatorship bill and a bankruptcy bill!" was the cry of Dewey Short. "It would raise up a Hitler in America." "It contains a complete pattern for military dictatorship in this country as powerful and arbitrary as any dictatorship anywhere in the world," declared Representative Winter. "The most colossal bid for one-man power to be found in history," said Representative Reed of New York. "I shall not abdicate in favor of Harry Hopkins, Madam Perkins or Barney Baruch," cried Representative Jones of Ohio. These tendentious arguments were carried to their logical absurdity by Representative Mundt, who declared, "If we pass this bill we would be turning back the pages of freedom 700 years to the days of Magna Carta. All the advancement in human legislative freedom of the past seven centuries would be discarded and we would have to start all over again as they did in 1215."

In the Senate the same distortion was used. "At the moment this bill is passed," Senator Nye asserted, "this body will have reduced itself to the impotence of another Reichstag." "A leap toward dictatorship!"

cried Senator Brooks, comparing Roosevelt's request for the bill to the enabling acts by which Hitler and Mussolini rose to power. "This bill is not only a war bill, it is a dictatorship bill!" declared Senator Capper. "Hitler himself had to go to the Reichstag to get his enabling act passed," Senator Wheeler repeated. "It is in its very essence, setting up Hitlerism, fascism and dictatorship in America."

The "fascist dictatorship" of Franklin Roosevelt continued to mail out these lying slanders in *The Congressional Record*, or as reprints, free of charge.

The lease-lend bill was in no sense a war bill. It gave the President no power to move troops or ships into the belligerent zones. Yet to enflame the American people against the bill, the obstructionists cried that it would precipitate America's entry into the war.

A necessary part of the distortion of the obstructionists was to deny that Nazi Germany in any way threatened America. "The notion that we are next on the list is not only false but a deliberate invention of the British propaganda department," said John T. Flynn, an America First official, on January 21. This line was widely followed in Congress. "The Hitler domination is bound to fall to pieces of its own weight," asseverated Sen. Bennett Clark. Senator Brooks condemned the administration for "preaching fear." "It is said that the Germans will establish a world of barter. Why cannot we barter as well as the Germans?" asked Senator Taft smugly.

"We have much more to fear from the war-makers from within than from our enemies from without," Fish declared, in opening the lease-lend debate in the House on February 3. "It is a pipe dream to talk about Hitler and Mussolini projecting an expedition against the United States," said Representative Robsion. "No nation on earth has threatened to violate our safety." "Harry Bridges and his kind who honeycomb the entire American defense program should cause America more worry than the fifth columnists in South America," Representative Jonkman said.

For the demagogues who could assert that anyone who spoke of the Hitler threat was "craven and cowardly," while they were the true American patriots because they "knew that no one would dare to touch their beloved country," it was no trouble to embrace the sympathy for Britain in the American people—in order to smother it. "I yield to no man in my sympathy for the gallant British people but . . ." each obstructionist would begin. "Knowing as I do that my ancestors came from Britain three hundred years ago, nevertheless . . ." they cried. "Proud as I am of the English blood that courses through my veins, still I say . . ." was echoed again and again. They went on to smear and denounce Britain. They fought for the second time the wars of Somaliland, Nyassaland and Bechuanaland. They openly scorned Britain. "It is a dastardly thing to say that Britain is fighting our war," cried Dewey



Short. There was a demand, which was led by Senator Lundeen and Representative Maas, that in payment for our supplies Britain give to America every possession she held in this hemisphere and in the Northern Pacific, with the possible exception of Canada.

After three days of violent debate, marked by the moderation and wisdom of only a few Republicans, the lease-lend bill was passed and sent to the Senate. There a filibuster was started against the bill in the hope that feeling would mount against it. When feeling mounted instead against the obstructionists, the Senate cut off debate upon the motion and considered amendments to the bill. A group of Senators who got on the right side on the final vote supported every weakening amendment which would have made the bill unwork-

able. They included Senators Brewster, Lodge, Nary, Burton and, to a lesser extent, Senators Tydings, Byrd and Barbour. The most damaging of all amendments, introduced by Senator Byrd, was passed, greatly restricting the President's action.

"The chances of our defeating the bill grow brighter every day," Nye said at the beginning of the Senate debate. What if the bill had been defeated by the obstructionists? The Axis would have won its great victory. The morale of the British and Chinese peoples then at its lowest ebb, would have been shattered. The tyrannical hold of National Socialism over all Europe would have been secured. America would have been left alone, the last democracy in the world to face the attack of an almost irresistible force.

## The Lease-Lend Appropriations

THE LEASE-LEND BILL was fought in Congress on the issue of giving more power to the President. When the bill was passed, and the course of American foreign policy was set, it might have been expected that most of the opponents of the lease-lend bill would for the sake of national unity sustain the position that their country had taken. Even Ham Fish did this. Yet in the House of Representatives a small band of obstructionists remained, delaying, slandering their government, playing the Nazi game.

It was altogether ridiculous to charge that the first lease-lend-appropriation bill involved a delegation of power to the President. The bill, which was introduced in March, 1941, merely executed the lease-lend policy of sending supplies to Britain and China. Yet once again the old and lying issue of dictatorship was dragged out.

With a pseudo-pride of false martyrdom the obstructionists announced that dictatorship had already come and would probably liquidate them for their gallant, foolhardy opposition. They pretended to see themselves almost as the underground forces of democracy within Germany or Italy, risking death for their people.

"The President is now a dictator," Representative Rich told the Congress. "He has you fellows by the neck and you must come out and talk turkey and vote like he wants you to or else he will purge you. You are in a pretty bad fix."

"I know full well the sacrifice that I shall make," replied Representative Jones of Ohio in a heartrending speech. "I would rather be tortured, be shot down on this spot, than do anything to harm the United States of America."

"You can take me out against a brick wall," Rich added, "and I will say I will die for the red, white and blue before I permit a dictator in this country."

Representative Lambertson urged his fellow martyrs to take heart. "The minority has abdicated in

Germany, Italy and Russia, but that is no reason why we should surrender," he cried. "We have a sworn duty to protect America first!" With a climax of irresponsibility he added, "If there were no other reason to whack this bill, it ought to be worth while to whack it just to show that we can."

As usual the obstructionists utterly distorted the meaning of the bill. To Smith of Ohio it was a bill "for dictatorship, war and national bankruptcy." To Miss Sumner it was "sinister . . . another artfully cut piece in a carefully planned pattern." "Must we sacrifice our liberty?" Hoffman asked, urging that the President "get no money until we get coöperation" in breaking the labor unions. Dies also took this line. Representative Lambertson announced that Roosevelt was "joyful almost to tears that he is going to be a great war President." He added that "it was planned from the beginning not to have a declaration of war." "The only chance of this war's ending soon," Lambertson said, "is that Germany wins."

Some Representatives like Taber of New York supported the bill because "the die is cast." Others, more cautious, washed their hands of it and declared that the responsibility was Roosevelt's alone. These included Representatives Wigglesworth and Ham Fish.

In October, the second lease-lend appropriation was presented to Congress. It called for six billion dollars, principally for food for Britain and for planes to bomb Germany and guard Africa, in the direct interest of our own safety. Yet once again the obstructionists delayed and distorted the bill. Two weeks before Pearl Harbor they denied that there was any peril. "I am not worried about Hitler coming over here," said Representative Engel. "The interest load in America is more dangerous to our liberties than all the guns of the Nazis," Representative Burdick said. "I fear the communists in America more than I fear Hitler."



Rich asserted. "No nation has threatened the peace or security of our country," added Representative Dondero. "The greatest danger facing the United States is not attack by the Axis powers but the trend of socialism in high places within the administration."

There were the same attacks upon Britain. "Britain never fights except to save her own skin," said Representative Robsion. "I charge that the British are guilty of colossal, deceitful misrepresentation of their dilemma," shouted Representative Jones of Ohio. Representative O'Connor accused the administration of "adoration for His Majesty's Government."

There were also the attacks upon the Soviet government, then fighting for its life. "You cannot tell much about this Joe Stalin," said O'Connor. "Remember,

all human monsters are yellow." Ham Fish called lease-lend aid to Russia "a fraud and a contemptible sham." Representative Knutson, in a speech echoed by many others, suggested that "Hitler and Stalin fight it out until they destroy each other." "It is not too late to withdraw a foolish commitment," Knutson added.

And, of course, there were the charges of dictatorship. "A measure to give the Chief Executive added dictatorial power!" Hoffman shouted. "Roosevelt and his henchmen have shown an insatiable appetite for power," Miss Sumner said. "It is too much to believe that they will relinquish without a desperate struggle the absolutism which we put into their hands."

*The "dictatorship" continued to mail out these wild and slanderous assertions free of charge.*

## The Property-Requisition Bill

THROUGHOUT 1941 armaments production in America was slow in increasing. There was a widespread evasion of priorities by manufacturers. Profiteering dealers refused to sell vital equipment to the government. Unscrupulous firms hoarded vast quantities of war materials, and, in the absence of price-fixing powers, speculation and black markets developed even in the commodities on which ceilings had been placed. Arms production lagged as industry after industry insisted upon producing for commercial orders.

On July 21 the property-requisition bill was sent to the Senate. The bill had not been drawn by the President's advisers, but by Undersecretary of War Patterson and John Lord O'Brian, Republican general counsel of the OPM.

"There have been instances," O'Brian wrote the Senate, "where contractors working on defense orders have made every feasible effort to secure second-hand machine tools from dealers but have failed to secure them because the sellers were unwilling to part with them on any reasonable terms. Our machine-tool section has tried in vain to have some larger machine tools transferred from regular commercial use to defense use. . . . Requisitioning authority would enable us to put these big tools to work on the defense program."

Bernard Baruch recommended sweeping commandeering powers as the result of his First World War experience. But in the Military Affairs Committees of the House and the Senate the property-requisition bill was rendered almost useless by emasculation of its powers. The bill which was reported required a finding that the need for requisitioning was imminent, that all other means of obtaining the property had been exhausted, that plants could not be seized, that no other source of supply existed. No bill was ever more ringed with restrictions.

Yet again the obstructionist minority in Congress

raised the same old cry of "dictatorship" in order to obstruct the defense program. The fact that the powers conferred by the bill were to be administered not by the President but by Undersecretary Patterson was entirely overlooked. "It smacks of Herr Hitler," was the charge of Dewey Short of Missouri. "It places a stranglehold upon industry and labor. I am against giving the President this additional authority!" "It is sheer National Socialism, sheer unadulterated National Socialism!" Fish cried. "It is the surrender of Congress," shouted Everett M. Dirksen of Illinois. "The lash of a dictator," thundered Charles H. Elston of Ohio, who asserted that the President would use the power to seize "the last vestige of personal property owned by every citizen in the United States."

To Clare E. Hoffman of Michigan the bill represented "the greedy grasping for absolute power of an ambitious dictator." "He intends to stifle all opposition," Hoffman added of Roosevelt, "by shackling the public press. Like all greedy, ruthless dictators he wants to make his will supreme, absolute over everyone. . . . It may be that he is humiliated because Bloody Joe, his comrade, has more power than he. Perhaps he wants to show Comrade Joe, who has caused the death of thousands of his people, that he, Roosevelt, has a like power over us here in America."

This is what the President had to endure. One hundred and thirty-six Representatives, almost every Republican in the House, supported Hoffman's stand. Yet the majority of these men, and the Democrats who voted with them, had declared a few months earlier that they could not vote for the draft because it proposed to conscript men without conscripting property.

Here was a straight vote—to aid the defense program, to place property under the same discipline as American youth, and 136 representatives opposed it, 136 who hated Roosevelt more than they hated Hitler.



# Neutrality

IN OCTOBER, 1941, the Axis was preparing to attack America. In Indo-China, Japan was completing the air bases from which she was to bomb Malaya and Burma; she was completing also the final arrangements for the good-will mission of Saburu Kurusu to Washington to arrange peace terms with the United States. In Russia the German army was crashing through the Soviet defenses, pressing upon Moscow, overwhelming the Ukraine and already storming the Crimea, the last stepping-stone to the Middle East and a probable Hitler victory.

In the seas off Newfoundland and Brazil, American ships were being attacked. In October eight American ships were sunk. Four of them were flying the American flag; only one of them was armed; not one was in a belligerent zone. The destroyers protecting them were also attacked—the Kearny, the Greer, the Reuben James, each with its heavy loss of life.

There can be no doubt but that, in October, 1941, the President was still hoping that he might keep America out of war. The amendment of the Neutrality Act was not a measure to take America into the fight but to ensure the continuance of the policy of aiding the Allies and building our own strength, to which the government and the country were committed.

In October, 1941, the Neutrality Act was crippling our defense and aid program.

Under the restrictions of Section 2 of the act, American ships carrying non-governmental cargoes were forbidden to enter belligerent zones. Because Britain could not feed her people, let alone arm them, on her own diminishing merchant marine, sixty-two American ships were transferred to Panamanian registry. But Panama had no seamen to man these ships and the 9,000 foreign seamen in America provided a poor and unreliable reserve. The entry of Russia into the war greatly increased the shipping shortage. Russia had almost no merchant marine, yet if Section 2 had remained in force it would have been necessary for the President, at some time, to have declared Murmansk and Archangel to be belligerent zones and so to have blockaded an ally through a law passed for our defense. At the same time stocks of chrome were accumulating in Turkey and copper and manganese were being held in the Near East because American ships could not fetch them, badly as we needed them. "We are threatened in our whole defense program," an OPM official said, "if we fail to preserve the freedom of the seas, which means the freedom to import our defense materials."

Yet our ships could not sail. Because of Section 2 of the Neutrality Act, 7,000 of our force of 74,000 trained seamen lost their jobs and left the sea to search for work elsewhere. Our merchant marine was less than one-sixth of the force which, according to the Shipping

Board, was the minimum required for our safety. The Maritime Commission was unable to train new seamen because there were no ships on which they were allowed to sail. "Let us turn American ships over to British crews," said Rep. John Jennings of Tennessee, "and let British sailors carry the gifts of the American people into British ports." But Britain was already short of seamen: 41,000 had been killed or drowned.

Section 6 of the Neutrality Act prohibited the arming of merchant vessels. Yet unarmed they were helpless. "One of our greatest difficulties today," Admiral Land testified, "is to obtain proper crews for unarmed vessels." Panamanian ships could be armed. But President Arosemena of Panama was friendly to Adolf Hitler and thought that they looked nicer unarmed. There was nothing that we could do, short of reasserting our rights.

What would Congress do? "The opposition, and particularly the Republican opposition," wrote Walter Lippmann on October 7, "have gone as far as they can afford to go in obstructing American foreign policy. . . . The opposition may soon find itself in the position where, by being irreconcilably opposed to the national policy, the future of the party would become identified with the defeat of the nation. The Republicans would be making a record on which they could reap a political profit only if America were defeated and humiliated."

Yet this was precisely what the obstructionists in Congress did. Their obstruction was expressed first in attacks upon Britain and Russia, coupled with pleas for Hitler's new ally, Finland. "England has sought to carry on a successful war without doing very much fighting," Senator Clark of Missouri cried. Britain might well negotiate a separate peace with Hitler. Clark added, as soon as America entered the war Representative Sweeney of Ohio repeated this canard and went on to add: "This war is directed by anti-Christian bankers." Another Nazi rumor, about the misuse by Britain of lease-lend funds, was spread in the debate by Senator Nye and a number of Representatives. Senator Wheeler asserted, in speaking of Britain's resistance, that "The hotheads took Britain into the war when she was unprepared and nearly ruined England by doing so." Rep. Dewey Short, who is always good for a cheap laugh, said, "Let us save America and let God save the King." At the same time Wheeler praised the fight of "Christian, democratic Finland."

The bill to amend the Neutrality Act could not be called a war measure. "It is said that the opposition in Congress intend to treat the modification of the Neutrality Act as the equivalent of a declaration of war," Walter Lippmann wrote. "They will do a great disservice to the nation . . . for they will be forcing the country to choose between the paralysis and collapse



of its foreign policy . . . and tremendous new entanglements in a vastly expanded war."

Yet again, this was precisely what the obstructionists in Congress did. "It is an authorization of war, declared or undeclared," cried Senator Clark of Missouri. "I will not vote for a declaration of war in disguise!" asserted Representative Guyer. "A declaration for a presidential war," repeated Ham Fish. The purpose of the bill, Fish added, was "simply and solely to cause the loss of American ships and men in sufficient numbers to inflame the passions and arouse the spirit of vengeance in the American people who are overwhelmingly opposed to our entrance into the war."

Only a hypocritical mind could assert that the President was seeking increased powers when he asked the Congress to amend the Neutrality Act. At the time the bill was written, the President had full power to arm American merchant ships and to send them into belligerent zones, since their government-owned lease-lend cargoes were not subject to the Neutrality Act. The President was also free to use naval vessels in any manner necessary to serve American defense. He could have nullified the entire Neutrality Act on the reasonable grounds that it could no longer "promote the security or preserve the peace of the United States." Certainly if he had been a dictator he would not have hesitated to do any of these things. But the President requested Congress to amend the act because, as a great democrat, he always stressed the democratic process.

Yet once more the obstructionists dragged in the charge that the President sought dictator powers, and asserted that it was the sacred duty of Congress to deny the President these powers. "If this be treason," cried many of them, always with an appropriate melodramatic flourish, "then make the most of it!" "A reckless usurpation of power leading to totalitarian government," Senator Clark of Missouri called the bill. "A long stride toward dictatorship, totalitarian government and revolution," said Representative Tinkham. "A complete surrender of the legislative branch of the government to the executive branch," cried Senator Nye. An act delegating "all power to one man, as the Germans and Italians did," said Representative Mundt. "The issue is, shall we preserve democracy or go totalitarian," argued Representative Thill. "The wrecking of our liberty, the setting up of a dictator," warned Representative Rich. "We will wake up under a dictatorship," said Representative Coffee of Nebraska. Senator Wheeler was not sure but he thought the dictatorship had already come. "Is totalitarianism the new world order?" Wheeler asked. "Has the American Congress followed in the path of the German Reichstag? If we are at war, have we followed the Hitleresque pattern? If we are not at war, has not constitutional government ended?" Wheeler's answer was "Yes."

Into the debate were brought the same contradictions as on earlier occasions. First the argument that America

was so ill prepared that she could not fight a war. Then the decrying of any danger whatever to America from the Axis forces and the assertion that anyone who for so much as a moment entertained such a shocking idea was a defeatist. But there also came into this debate a new note, one heard in the French Chamber of Deputies in the months before the French collapse.

"I have reached a parting of the ways," said Rep. Howard Smith of Virginia. The American government, he added, was controlled, not by the Constitution but "by a few willful, power-drunken labor leaders"; it was a "labor government." "We must learn," Smith said, "to govern the unruly elements within our midst before we undertake to settle the affairs of a troubled world." He refused to support the foreign policy of the government until it "quelled the labor insurrection with its violence and bloodshed." This attack, initiated by Smith's political master, Senator Byrd, and followed up in the Senate by O'Daniel, was far more threatening to the government's foreign policy than the rantings of Ham Fish. It found support in the House among men such as Representative Boren of Oklahoma, who asserted that Congress must "free American labor from Hitlers here before setting out to destroy Europe's Hitlers." The bill was saved only by a message from the President to the Congress promising a stronger labor policy.

Of course the great body of Congress did not seek to distort the issue as did these few men. The debate in the House was perhaps the fairest and least vindictive of all debates on foreign policy. It was constantly raised in tone by Luther Johnson of Texas, by Representative Wadsworth and by the majority leader, John W. McCormack of Massachusetts. It was closed on an extremely high level by Representative Whittington of Mississippi, who said: "If liberty is lost by conquest it may be regained. If liberty is abandoned by indifference it can never be regained."

Yet our liberty and the liberty of our allies were almost lost by indifference. In the final moments of the debate a letter from the President was read to the House. "In the British Empire, in China, and in Russia, all of whom are fighting a defensive war," the President wrote, "the effect of the failure of the Congress to repeal Sections 2 and 3 of the Neutrality Act would be definitely discouraging. . . . It would weaken their positions from the point of view of food and munitions. It would cause rejoicing in the Axis nations. It would bolster aggressive steps and intentions in Germany and in the other aggressive nations. . . . It would weaken our great effort to produce all we can, as rapidly as we can."

Twenty-two Republicans broke with the leadership of Joseph Martin to support their government. Fifty-seven Democrats broke with the President. By a majority of less than ten votes, on that day, Congress chose liberty.



## The Closing Round

DECEMBER 5, 1941. The infamous plans of the Axis to attack America are completed. In Washington the treacherous Kurusu delivers to Hull a plan for a compromise in Indo-China, in order to deceive the American government as to his nation's real intentions. In the Pacific, a Japanese fleet of aircraft-carriers and warships sails for Hawaii, where more than two thousand Americans are unsuspectingly living in peace, not dreaming that they have but one more day to live.

In America, The Chicago Tribune and The Washington Times-Herald, in a last desperate attempt to mislead the American people, violate the espionage laws and publish the most secret strategic plans of our army and navy slipped to them by a traitor in the Navy Department. The document which they publish exposes to Japan our plans in the event of a Pacific war and tells Hitler what bases and weapons we have for an offensive against Germany. Both Hitler and Tojo, in declaring war upon the United States, are to cite this plan as a justification of their actions.

And in Congress? An \$8,000,000,000 military-appropriations bill is being discussed. It is being denounced because it is unnecessary, because there is no danger, because war is a terrible thing, because it gives too much power to Franklin Roosevelt. Eagerly the few obstructionists, in their speeches, seize upon The Chicago Tribune's treachery as a new source to delay the military appropriations. The Times-Herald cries exultantly, "War Plan Exposé Rocks Capital. Perils Ap-

propriation Bill. Congress in an Uproar. Tinkham Declares Republic Betrayed."

"The secret is out," cries Robsion of Kentucky. "I shall vote to recommit this bill! It means bankruptcy and the loss of our liberties and freedom."

Where have we heard that before? These few Representatives do not remember. "I repeat," Fish cries, "if we finally destroy the German army we can only do one thing, and that is to revive communism. If we crush Germany, Germany will go communistic. Europe will be communistic. We will have revolution, chaos, destruction of our liberties, we may even lose our form of government and have a dictator." Dirksen insists upon striking from this huge appropriation the salary of David Lasser, an unimportant government employee, on the utterly fallacious ground that he is a Communist. The House vote is taken, and on the evening of December 5, fifty-six Representatives vote to recommit in order to strike from the bill \$500,000,000 in lease-lend aid for China, Britain and Russia. Anderson, Andresen, Coffee of Nebraska, Crawford, Day, Dewey, Dworshak, Johns, Jones, Jonkman, Knutson, Lambertson, O'Connor, Reed, Shanley, Smith, Winter, Wolcott, Woodruff, Youngdahl; the roll call betrays the same obstructionist group. When the motion is defeated, and the vote upon the bill is taken, Crawford, Lambertson, Rich, Shanley and Miss Sumner vote against the final military-appropriations bill.

Thirty-six hours later, the Japanese dive bombers are to hurtle down on Hawaii, killing, firing, destroying.

## The Battle on the Home Front

FOR THE TWO AND A HALF YEARS of America's awakening the small group of obstructionists fought against every step to place America's resources against fascism, behind the embattled democracies. But our foreign policy was only one phase of our total mobilization. Here, on the home front, an equally vital phase was the mobilization of manpower, of resources, of morale, behind a united war effort. Here, too, the same group, driven by the same blind hatreds of prejudice, using the same deception and distortion, fought every move to make the home front strong.

If America were prepared to make a supreme effort in 1941, then that preparedness derived from the eight-year program of the President to abolish unemployment, waste, unbalance, poor housing, low standards and lack of democracy in America. Throughout these years a minority in Congress, thwarted each time when they took their case to the people, delayed

and sabotaged the President's program from within. In 1941, having opposed the government's foreign policy with all their strength, they turned and demanded in the name of the defense effort that the peacetime programs of the government be destroyed.

Nothing was more important in America than morale. Hitler could have asked for no greater service in America than that a minority would sow dissension among Americans and demoralize our labor force by making the war a time of destruction of all of labor's rights.

On December 1, 1941, the obstructionists fought to a climax their offensive against American labor led by a small group of Southern conservatives who hated labor more than they loved the liberty which demanded unity. They forced the issue as the amendment of the Vinson labor-mediation bill, introduced by Representative Howard Smith of Virginia.



Once again the obstructionists played upon precisely the same fear of dictatorship which had been exploited in the foreign-policy debates. "The issue is," Representative Eugene Cox told the House, "whether or not a few greedy, brutal, power-lustful racketeers shall defy the government of the United States and imperil the safety of the nation. I say to you that if there is any group in the United States . . . that can intimidate the Chief Executive or this Congress, then, by the living God, free America is gone, the Constitution, the Bill of Rights is a mockery, and we have left only the carcass of that great dream of the signers of the Declaration of Independence and the framers of the Constitution—free government. There is nothing to fight Hitler for, because then freedom is gone."

Martin Dies reasserted these thoughts. He damned the CIO as "a coalition of communism and criminality," and added: "You may call it Hitlerism, Stalinism, totalitarianism or what have you; it is un-American to force workingmen into the shackles of labor bosses." Representative Smith in turn declared that freedom would die if America did not at once guarantee "the inalienable right" of the open shop.

Three strikes were in progress, involving 1,700 men. A representative of the OPM announced that this was "a new low in strikes of defense significance." Yet, in a typical speech, Representative Crawford declared, "I want something with teeth in it. . . . As I read the Smith bill it has teeth in it. I think it has alligator teeth in it. I think it has teeth as long as the man-eating claws that you get out at the Pacific, and those are about the most terrible teeth I have ever seen." In this spirit of sinking teeth deep into the labor movement and thus risking a severe decline in productivity, the House passed the Smith bill.

Just as in France the Chamber of Deputies used the invasion of Poland to declare war, not on Germany but on the French people, so in America the war situation was seized upon as an excuse for destroying the social program of the government.

The first of the government programs to be destroyed by Congress was that for rural electrification. Probably no government plan had yielded as high direct returns on expenditures as the REA. At a time when farmers were being called upon to produce record crops, while manpower on the farms, the alternative to electrical energy, was being drafted for factory work and military training, its services provided an important part of the war effort.

Yet when the power lobby moved into Washington to destroy the public-power movement in the name of the war, a majority of the Congress knuckled under. Representative Winter, friendly to the Kansas Power and Light Company, led the battle against the REA with the same old weapons. He accused it of operating "exactly in the manner of Adolf Hitler and of Joseph Stalin. . . . The star-chamber method of dicta-

torship. . . . Dictatorial decree. . . . The sort of thing that stiffens the backs of those who oppose the war on the grounds that there is no sense in fighting Hitlerism abroad only to obtain Hitlerism at home."

"I am frank to admit," Winter went on, "that those of us who are classified as anti-New Dealers have no right to demand that the President surrender to our desires before we agree to follow his leadership in purely national-defense matters." In return for its vote to defend America against actual Japanese attack, however, Congress did force the government to deny any copper whatever to the REA, irrespective of the nature of its power projects, and at a time when power utilities were getting substantial priorities. So the REA was murdered.

A similar job was done by Congress upon the Farm Security Administration. The success of the food-for-victory program demanded greatly increased farm production, mainly from our small farmers. Five hundred thousand of these were dependent upon the FSA for credit, for materials, for vital personal services such as medical care. Yet Congress in March, 1942, cut the FSA to pieces in the name of the war effort. "In the name of our liberty and independence, our freedom, also of our boys in the trenches now at war," cried Representative Rich, one of the most violent obstructionists in the fight against the selective-service army and the war for liberty, "vote some economy, or you will lose the war." Led by Representative Dirksen, Crawford and Slater, and speaking in accordance with signals made by Ed O'Neal of the Farm Bureau Federation from the gallery of the House, Congress wrecked a large part of the FSA program.

In the name of the war, too, free lunches for children were stricken from the NYA grants and nearly 800,000 young boys and girls were sent home from schools and colleges for want of a few dollars. The Wages-and-Hours Administration was undermined by the dismissal of one-half of its inspector force, the CCC and the public-works program were demolished. Most of this dirty work was done, not in the open, on the floor of the House and Senate, but behind the walls of Senate and House committees. In particular Senator Byrd, as chairman of the Joint Committee on Non-Essential Expenditures, fed out misleading information to discredit many government agencies before they appeared before the House Appropriations Committee. This fight offered to the Southern conservatives, many of whom were compelled only by local sentiment to support the government's foreign policy, a chance to break with the administration and weaken it.

Representative Cox, who cried in anger that "reform clings like a leech," and Representative Faddis, who referred to the social program as "champagne and caviar" and some members of the government as "starry-eyed, irresponsible, crusading Quislings," were typical of this group. Today they are still at their pur-



suits: dividing America when we need to be united; smearing the government when we need confidence in our leadership; seizing upon every small irritant as a means of demoralizing a people when we need to keep one great issue, of victory over fascism, clearly before us. This deliberate weakening attack upon the home

front is just as helpful to Hitler, just as dangerous to the United Nations, as is sabotage of our war on fronts abroad. The men who wage this fight, to whom the war against progress is the only real war of our time, are as threatening to our democracy as are the Hamilton Fishes.

## Is It a Party Issue?

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT has announced that he will not repeat the action of our last wartime President, Woodrow Wilson, in calling for the election to Congress of representatives of his own party. The President's attitude toward candidates for election will be determined by the record alone.

But the record shows that the Republican Party has for the last three years made the issue of foreign policy a partisan issue, in which it fought the President on party lines.

In our chart of the record of Congress on crucial debates, the Democrats show an extremely high average. On foreign policy, only the Michigan and Iowa delegations show serious signs of disaffection. On the home front, while the Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, North Carolina, Missouri, Mississippi, South Carolina, Oklahoma, Tennessee and Texas delegations are divided, the underlying trend is progressive.

In contrast, the Republican record is negative and bleak. Of the ten crucial foreign issues which we have chosen in the chart, the Republican votes for and against were 15 to 135 on the Guam appropriation; 8 to 150 on the revision of the arms embargo; 20 to 140 on the first revision of the Neutrality Act; 5 to 122 on the military-appropriations vote of 1939; 52 to 112 on the selective-service bill; 24 to 135 on the lease-lend bill; 21 to 133 on the extension of the draft; 39 to 133 on the repeal of Section 6 of the Neutrality Act prohibiting the arming of ships; and 22 to 137 on the revision of Section 2 of the act prohibiting the travel of American ships in belligerent zones. Four-fifths of the opposition to the first and second lease-lend appropriations came from Republicans. Only individual Republicans of the delegations of California, New Jersey, New York and the New England states saved the Republican record from being one of complete obstruction.

In a recent conference, Wendell L. Willkie succeeded in persuading the Republican Party to adopt a resolution supporting the active participation of America in world reconstruction when the war is won. Yet even at this conference Senator Taft boasted that he had "pulled the teeth" from the resolution. Today despite his great popularity with the rank and file, it is probable that Willkie controls only a handful of

Republicans in the House of Representatives. The Republicans as a whole have shown no signs of repudiating the leadership which directed their fight against the government's foreign policy. For this reason we must examine not only the record of the past, but the outcome in the future, if, as it hopes to do, the Republican Party captures a majority of the House next November.

In 1918, only a few weeks after his life's philosophy, and the sacrifices which he had called upon America to make, had culminated in the announcement of the Fourteen Points, President Wilson lost his Democratic majority in the House of Representatives. Historians now see in that event the turning point in Wilson's career, and in the unsuccessful attempt to bring out of the sufferings of World War I a permanent international structure for the maintenance of peace. Using its powers of appropriation and investigation, a hostile House fought a constant action against Wilson, sniping from behind. The leaders of the House and of the Senate under Senator Lodge strongly endorsed the League of Nations principle. Yet they refused to accept the League when the test came, and although Harding campaigned on an issue of supporting the League, as President he restored the isolationist tradition of America. That fact, fifteen years later, was instrumental in the collapse of the peace—which Wilson had won.

What would happen in 1942 if by a turnover of fifty seats the Republican Party won a majority in the House of Representatives?

The Speaker of the House, incomparably the most important member, would be Representative Joseph Martin, the present minority leader. As chairman of the Republican National Committee, Martin picked Clarence Budington Kelland, a Roosevelt-hater and labor-baiter, as his party's publicity chief. Representative Martin's record is worse than that of Hamilton Fish. He voted *wrong* on the Guam naval base, *wrong* on the repeal of the arms embargo, *wrong* on the revision of the Neutrality Act, *wrong* on the airplane-appropriation bill, *wrong* on the lease-lend bill, *wrong* on the second revision of the Neutrality Act. He voted *wrong* on every crucial issue of domestic mobilization, as we show in our chart. Martin is isolationist and reactionary to the core.



A Republican majority in November would mean, also, a change in the chairmanship of the House Committees. John Taber, an outright reactionary, would take over the Appropriations Committee and use it to further the drive against all leading liberals in the government. The chairman of the Banking and Currency Committee would be Jesse Wolcott, the leader of the fight to emasculate the price bill. Allen Treadway would run the Ways and Means Committee, working to tax the poor and ease the burden of the rich. The Foreign Affairs Committee, with control over lease-lend aid and reconstruction, would fall into the outstretched arms of Ham Fish. To Fish would go also the Rules Committee, to become the burial ground of all liberal measures.

Quite clearly, if one branch of the government were to fall into the hands of these men while the other remained in the hands of the present administration, the result would be chaotic. The prosecution of the war effort, and consequently the safety of every one of us, would suffer.

But not only would the war be endangered. It may

well be that the war will be over before 1944. In that event President Roosevelt will be faced with the equally hard task of making the peace. Once again, we must remember that as peacemaker Wilson was shamefully discredited by the 1918 elections only five weeks before he sailed for Versailles. He left with the harsh but true words of Theodore Roosevelt preceding him to Europe. "Our allies, our enemies and Mr. Wilson himself must know that Mr. Wilson has no authority whatever to speak for the American people at this time. His leadership has just been emphatically repudiated by them."

Unless the Republican leadership is decisively changed between now and November 5, we must remember that a Republican House would take from the President his freedom as an executive and make of him something like a constitutional monarch, with few real powers. Even the best Republican candidates will carry this stigma upon them. For whatever personal commitments they are willing to undertake, their victories would make it easier for a party which has not accepted those commitments to gain power.

## The Verdict

IN THESE PAGES we have presented the story of America's awakening. We have shown, by the record, how this awakening was achieved despite the attempt of a minority in Congress to hold back, to blind our people.

Two main forces constituted this minority which has sought to keep from our people understanding of the one great task we face—victory over the fascist dictatorship which has challenged us. The first of these forces, based upon the Republicans of the North and Middle West, believed that the one great war of our time was the war upon progress and so resisted any reply to the Nazi challenge because our resistance was led by a great force for progress in the White House. A second group of a few Southern reactionaries believed also in the war against progress and while they supported the government on grounds of party sought to undermine the will to achieve unity on the home front which was also a vital part of our total war effort.

In the first of these groups a distinction must be made between the ringleaders of the group and those who for reasons of party or local sentiment acquiesced. The latter—there are perhaps one hundred and twenty of them—represent in the main the group of small-town lawyers, doctors, editors and merchants who have grown up within a climate of opinion best reflected in the archaic columns of Westbrook Pegler, in which the heroes and creators of social achievement are uniformly the big-business men; in which the underlying groups ought to express gratitude for the crumbs which

are handed down to them as the lower in the banquet of life; in which that government which governs least continues to govern best; in which America can best serve its interests by seceding from the rest of the world. The image of himself which each of these men carries is an image identified with the heads of big corporations, which, we now know, have sought to fashion world economic policy through their cartel agreements with the Nazi industrialists. These men are the tools for schemers, and Martin is their perfect focus point.

Joined to this group was the small band of North-western progressives who represented districts in which an isolationist vote expressed the majority will. These men's recent records show a change of heart. Their consistent support of the government since Pearl Harbor indicates that the deep sources of their votes are in the long run sound and healthy.

The second leading group in the obstructionist minority consists of a few Southern reactionaries who answer to only a small part of their constituents. They come from states with a system of one-party domination in which the alternatives of available opposition are so severely limited that the most bitter reactionaries are fairly certain of their seats term after term. By reason of the principle of seniority they have managed to place themselves in the highly strategic position of committee leadership from which they hinder the administration in ways which the public never fully understands. In the absence of a Republican opposition this group would be strictly limited in its activities of



obstruction. With the Republicans, it is able to provide a working majority against the administration on any social issue. Votes upon power and labor measures are instances of this tactic, and the Dies Committee vote, in which 133 out of 185 Republicans supported an outstanding enemy of the administration, is an example of the way the Republicans are able to use reactionary Democrats as a means of embarrassing and weakening the government.

Today, with the support of the Republicans, these Southern reactionaries are using their power in three main ways. First, they are using congressional power of investigation, particularly through the Dies Committee, to hound liberals in the administration and confuse the people on the question of exactly who it is that we are fighting. Second, they are using the halls of Congress as a sounding board for divisionist speeches. Third, they are using the congressional power over appropriations to maintain control over the administrative personnel. By attaching riders to appropriation bills denying funds to members of the government, they have misused their powers to dictate the policies of the executive. Thus they and the Republicans who support them have become a great bottleneck in American democracy. These Southern leaders cannot in most cases undergo the fiery trial of democratic judgment upon their deeds until democracy is introduced in their constituencies. Yet it is necessary at all times to understand their obstructionist power.

We would like at all times to be generous. We would begin by asserting, when we consider the guilt of men who resisted our foreign policy, that their resistance must be seen against the background of twenty years of opposition to war in America; years in which The New Republic formed a part of the opposition. We would readily add that many of the men who voted against each crucial step in our awakening now fully believe in the necessity of ruthless war upon the Axis until victory is achieved, and believe also that victory will be empty of meaning unless America accepts a continuing responsibility for the peace.

But to the minority of obstructionist leaders, America cannot be generous, for they were not generous with democracy or truth. In the two and a half years of debate which we have analyzed, these few men never allowed the real issue, the victory or surrender of democracy, to be placed before the American people. Instead they exploited petty hatreds that America could no longer afford to kindle. They deliberately deceived the American people about the intentions of their government, when unity demanded confidence in our leadership. They distorted the meaning of one historical necessity—the strengthening of the executive in wartime—into a charge of dictatorship when there was no danger of dictatorship whatsoever. When the American people saw that dictatorship did not result from the passage of the bills which Congress enacted, this minor-

ity deliberately spread the slanderous rumor that the administration was going to call off the 1942 elections.

This same minority harried and hindered our action long after the course of America's future had been decisively set. When they failed to create a cleavage between farm and city, capital and labor, the people and their government, this minority of obstructionists turned to the despicable Nazi trick of asserting that it was the Jews who were leading America into war.

These men committed many crimes against our allies, but their fundamental crime they committed against their own people. So deep was their hatred of Roosevelt and progress that they were blinded to the real danger which threatened America, and so allied themselves with it. Even today many of these men would like to see Hitler defeated but are determined that the conditions of Hitler's defeat shall be the defeat of Russia, of England, of Roosevelt or of the New Deal.

These men, even these, may claim that now they too have changed. But we are no longer deceived. On December 7 it is true that they were temporarily silenced. "My country right or wrong," The Chicago Tribune, their champion, said. "My country right or wrong," echoed the Bundist *Deutsche Weckruf und Beobachter*. The Eighty-sixth Street Theatre in New York ceased showing "Sieg im Westen" and announced "closed for repairs." The politics of the obstructionists were also "closed for repairs," but the repairs did not take long. Today the obstructionists are back at their old games, exploiting grievances, spreading rumors, sowing doubts, enlarging upon defeats, attempting to turn every military defeat into a political defeat. While the government locks up fascists outside of Congress, Representative Hoffman is free to announce that our Commander-in-Chief is fighting to become a world dictator, and Representative Shafer is free to state that the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor can only be compared in unexpectedness to the British attack upon Oran. Others, less honest, are working behind the scenes, waiting until the heavy losses, the many hardships which war must bring, will weaken the government.

We repeat, with these men we cannot afford to be generous. The past, the inscriptions upon the graves of the republics of Germany, France and Spain, tell us that generosity may be as dangerous as intolerance. The future demands of us that we be stern, for the stakes have never been so high as today.

On November 5 will come the trial which the obstructionists declared would never be held because we were afraid. It is not we who are afraid today. The case of the American people against the obstructionists will be placed on trial in November we have briefed and presented. What the defense of those men will be we cannot and do not care to imagine. On the basis of the record, the verdict of the people can only be Guilty.



# The Evidence \*

FOREIGN

DOMESTIC

FOREIGN

DOMESTIC

	2/23/39	11/2/39	11/3/39	6/22/39	9/7/40	2/6/41	3/19/41	8/12/41	10/17/41	11/13/41	1/13/39	8/1/39	3/28/40	5/9/40	6/7/40	8/5/41	12/3/41	1/26/42	3/11/42	3/27/42
	Guam Naval Base	Arms Embargo	Neutrality Revision	Military Airplane Appropriation	Conscription Act	Lend-Lease	First Lend-Lease Appropriation	Draft Extension	Repeal Ban on Arming Ships	Lift Belligerent Zones	WPA Bill *	Public Works Bill	NYA Bill	Food Stamp Bill	Drastic Labor Amendments	Property Seizure Bill	Smith Anti-Labor Bill	Wolcott Price Control Amendment	Dies Committee Extension	Power Bill
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
Alabama	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Arkansas	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
California	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Colorado	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Connecticut	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Delaware	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
District of Columbia	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Florida	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
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Pennsylvania	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Rhode Island	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
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Texas	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Utah	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Vermont	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Virginia	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Washington	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
West Virginia	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Wisconsin	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Wyoming	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

symbols + and - indicate for and against the Administration. Those against are tabulated -; those for, +. A blank indicates no vote; a blank usually indicates the congressman was not then a member. vote reconstructed by Labor's Non-Partisan League.









	FOREIGN										DOMESTIC									
	Guam Naval Base	Arms Embargo	Neutrality Revision	Military Airplane Appropriation	Conscription Act	Lend-Lease	First Lend-Lease Appropriation	Draft Extension	Repeal Ban on Arming Ships	Lift Belligerent Zones	WPA Bill	Public Works Bill	NYA Bill	Food Stamp Bill	Drastic Labor Amendments	Property Seizure Bill	Smith Anti-Labor Bill	Wolcott Price Control Amendment	Dies Committee Extension	Power Bill
MISSOURI																				
Bennett																				
Ploeser																				
Short	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
MONTANA																				
Rankin																				
NEBRASKA																				
Copeland																				
Curtis	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Stefan	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
NEW HAMPSHIRE																				
Jenks	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Stearns	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
NEW JERSEY																				
Canfield																				
Eaton	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
Hartley	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-
Kean	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-
McLean	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-
Osmer	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-
Powers	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-
Thomas	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-
Vreeland	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-
Wolverton	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-
NEW YORK																				
Andrews	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
Baldwin																				
Butler																				
Cluett	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
Cole	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
Crowther	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Culkin	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-
Douglas	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
Fish	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
Gamble	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-
Hall, E.	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-
Hall, L.	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-
Hancock	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-
Kilburn	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-
O'Brien	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-
Pheiffer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Reed	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Rockefeller	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Taber	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
Wadsworth	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
NORTH DAKOTA																				
Burdick	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-
Robertson																				
OHIO																				
Baumhart																				
Bender	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bolton	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Brown	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Clevenger	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Elston	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Hess	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Jenkins	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Jones	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
McGregor	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Smith	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Vorrs	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
OKLAHOMA																				
Rizley																				
OREGON																				
Angell	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mott	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
PENNSYLVANIA																				
Ditter	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Fenton	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Gelack	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Gillette	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

	FOREIGN										DOMESTIC									
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Graham	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Jarrett	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kinzer	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kunkel	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Rich	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Rodgers	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Scott	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Simpson	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Tibbott	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Van Zandt	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Wolfenden	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
SOUTH DAKOTA																				
Case	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mundt	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TENNESSEE																				
Jennings	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Reece	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
VERMONT																				
Plumley	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
WISCONSIN																				
Johns	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kefe	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Murray	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Smith	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Stevenson	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Thill	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
MINNESOTA																				
Buckler	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
NEW YORK																				
Marcantonio	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
WISCONSIN																				
Gehrmann	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Hull	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sauthoff	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

## Farmer-Labor

## American Labor

## Progressives

No. 1. *Guam Naval Base.*—In 1938 the House struck out a navy appropriation of \$1,000,000 intended for harbor improvements at Guam. In February, 1939, it struck out a similar \$5,000,000 provision by a vote of 205-166 (138 Republicans for, 138 against). Work finally started on Guam in



No. 3. *Neutrality Revision*. — On November 3, 1939, the House, by a 244-171 vote, modified the neutrality law sufficiently to open the door to more specific aid to the Allies. Even at that late date, only 20 Republicans voted for modification, and 140 voted to retain a law which was completely unrealistic.

No. 4. *Military Airplane Appropriation*. — On June 22, 1939, an amendment to an army appropriation bill, cutting 1,283 planes and \$37,000,000 out of the bill, was defeated 217-150. The amendment was offered only two months before the fall of Poland, at a time when Lindbergh and others were claiming that Germany had such air superiority as to make resistance futile. Only 5 Republicans voted against, and 122 for, the amendment. The 122 who voted against these 1,283 planes will probably be out denouncing the President this fall for his conduct of the war.

No. 5. *The Conscription Bill*. — By September 9, 1940, the voluntary enlistment system had broken down. The issue of conscription was the issue of both defense and democracy. It is no more democratic, and no more possible, to put military service on a voluntary basis than it is to make taxation voluntary. The conscription bill passed 263-149, with 211 Democrats voting for and 33 against, while 12 Republicans voted for and 112 against.

No. 6. *The Lease-Lend Bill*. — By 1941 it was clear that if the war were to continue, the United States would have to become in fact the arsenal of democracy. Liberal credit would have to be extended to the nations engaged in the fight against Hitler. On February 6, 1941, the lend-lease bill was passed by a vote of 260 to 165, the most important vote in recent years. It amounted to a declaration that our resources would back the United Nations when their own were exhausted. Twenty-four Republicans voted for the bill and 135 voted against.

No. 7. *The First Lease-Lend Appropriations Bill*. — During the fight on the lease-learn bill itself, the opposition raised harried cries of dictatorship. After the bill was passed, it became a matter of national policy and the "dictatorship" issue was not involved in voting for appropriations under the terms of the bill. Consequently, except for a very few stanch pacifists, opposition to lease-learn appropriations was mere obstructionism or the reflection of a die-hard anti-British feeling. This first lease-learn appropriations bill for \$7,000,000,000 passed on March 19, 1941, was opposed by only 55 Representatives, of whom 5 were Republicans. Since many of the most reactionary isolationists decided to vote for the appropriations, this one vote by no means makes amends for previous or subsequent voting.

No. 8. *Extension of the Draft*. — On August 12, 1941, the House voted 203-202 to extend the period of service of draftees for eighteen months. This willingness to disband the army, less than four months before Pearl Harbor, shows the complete lack of understanding, among half of our Representatives, of the nature of this war and

the consequences to our own people of fascist world control. The Democratic vote was 182 for and 65 against, while 21 Republicans voted for and 133 against.

No. 9. *Ban on Arming Ships*. — The arming of ships had become necessary if we were to deliver lease-learn material to Britain. The bill repealing the ban was passed on October 17, 1941, by 259-138, with 220 Democrats voting for and 21 against, while 39 Republicans voted for and 113 against.

No. 10. *Lifting Belligerent Port and Combat-Zone Bans*. — This modification had become necessary in the delivery of lease-learn material to the nations fighting fascism. Only three weeks before Pearl Harbor, it passed by the narrow margin of 212-194, on November 13, 1941. One hundred and eighty-nine Democrats voted for the proposal, 53 against; 22 Republicans voted for and 137 against.

No. 11. *The \$875,000,000 WPA Relief Bill*. — The vote on this bill, January 13, 1939, is the most important one taken on the subject of unemployment relief. More than any other, it shows the attitude of Congress toward the one-third of the nation that is ill fed, ill clothed and ill housed.

During the past eight years more than 8,000,000 people have been employed by the WPA. These workers, with their dependents, total more than 30,000,000 persons, or 25 percent of our 1930 population. A large number of them today are in the armed services or are working in war industries. The salvaging of this large portion of our population by President Roosevelt's relief program, despite the almost unanimous opposition of the reactionaries in Congress, is an important factor in our ability to prosecute a war program.

The WPA appropriation was defeated by 137-226. A reconstruction of the vote showed that only three Republicans supported the bill.

No. 12. *The Self-Liquidating Public-Works Bill*. — In 1939 President Roosevelt advocated spending \$3,000,000,000 on self-liquidating public works. Various items were stricken from the bill, until only \$1,615,000,000 remained. Then, on August 1, 1939, a coalition of Republicans and recalcitrant Democrats voted, 193-167, not to consider the measure at all. No Republicans voted for the bill, 146 against.

No. 13. *The NYA Appropriation Bill*. — This bill, which passed by 221-157 on March 28, 1940 (with 28 Republicans voting for and 125 against), was a bill to increase the funds for the National Youth Administration. On the same day an almost identical vote was taken on the Civilian Conservation Corps. It is significant that the bitterness of the conservatives' opposition to the administration's youth program is second only to its opposition to labor.

Altogether, the New Deal youth program since its inception has trained 3,000,000 young men in the CCC, and under the NYA has helped 2,250,000 young people attend high school and college, at the same time giving another



2,250,000 other types of out-of-school training. During 1942 the conservatives in Congress and the nation's press made a concerted effort to destroy the CCC and the NYA. This was particularly significant because at the time three-fourths of the NYA's efforts were devoted to training 130,000 young people for war industries. Another 75,000 were in private and vocational schools, and nearly 300,000 in industry. But at the same time 1,700,000 young people were being given technical training in Germany, and 3,000,000 a year had received such training during the years just before the war.

*No. 14. The Food-Stamp Plan.* — The roll call on May 9, 1940, maintained the Federal Food Stamp Plan by a vote of 191-173. Of the Republicans, 17 voted for the plan, 105 against. This vote is used here because it is more revealing than the votes on many of the larger appropriations designed to achieve farm parity. The stand of the Representatives on this measure is a comment on their attitude both toward the farm problem and toward the unemployed.

The Republican platforms of 1936 and 1940 virtually endorsed the New Deal agricultural program, only promising more competent administration. None the less, the roll calls in Congress have belied their good faith. On the first farm-parity-payment vote, on March 28, 1939, 20 Republicans voted for and 135 against. On the second vote, June 22, 1939, 24 Republicans voted for and 129 against. On May 9, 1940, 23 Republicans voted for and 131 against an appropriation of \$212,000,000 for farm-parity payments. Republicans from the rural areas which are benefited vote for the New Deal farm program, while the others vote against it. It is strange that Republican farmers do not seem to be able to see through this duplicity.

If the Democratic members had not voted four or five to one in favor of the administration's farm program, the nation's farm income could not have risen, as it did, from less than five billions in 1933 to nearly twelve in 1941.

*Nos. 15 and 17. Labor.* — These are the two most important votes taken in Congress in recent years on fundamental rights of labor. Number 15 is on the Smith amendments to the NLRA; number 17 is the vote on the Smith anti-labor bill. If passed, it would have set labor back many years. It would have frozen existing union-shop conditions and prevented any new contracts providing union security. It would have destroyed hard-won laws protecting labor, provided compulsory registration of labor unions and during mediation periods which might last up to ninety days, it would have prevented strikes, picketing and other important labor activities. It would have punished only workers in unions, not employers. Workers would also have been deprived, if they failed to comply, no matter what the justice of their cause, of old-age pensions, unemployment compensation, WPA employment and all other relief.

Workers fought these measures vigorously and took the position that any congressman who voted for them is an enemy. Practically all congressmen who supported these bills have a record of hostility to labor in regard to other issues that have been before Congress in recent years.

*No. 16. The Property-Seizure Bill.* — On August 5, 1941, this bill, passed by 240-133, gave the President the power during the emergency to requisition military or naval equipment or supplies needed for defense, including machinery, tools and equipment for their manufacture. NOTE: 52 Republicans voted for the conscription of men, while only 25 were willing to vote for the conscription of property necessary for defense, even where the owner was paid a fair price, with the right of appeal to a federal court.

*No. 18. The Wolcott Amendment to the Price-Controls Bill.* — The Wolcott amendment, which was defeated 210-189, on January 6, 1942, was intended to replace Leo Henderson as administrator by a five-man board, and to eliminate the licensing feature, the real teeth in the bill. It was an effort to emasculate a vitally necessary piece of the domestic war program. The vote on this amendment indicates whether the members were willing to go along with the administration on the first requirements of an all-out war program, or whether the game was to be "politics as usual."

*No. 19. The Dies Committee.* — By March 11, 1942, when this vote came up, every member of Congress knew that for more than three years Dies had conducted an irresponsible smear campaign against all liberals in the New Deal, as a means of destroying what the President had accomplished. So well had he succeeded that, according to the FCC monitor service, he was "the man most frequently and approvingly quoted" on the Axis radio. Dies, whether or not a conscious fascist, has consistently played the fascist game. The Axis needs the Dies Committee—we don't.

*No. 20. Power.* — On March 27, 1942, Congress, by a vote of 117-202, killed appropriations for the Table Rock and Bull Shoals developments on the White River in Missouri, although they had been urged by all the war agencies, including the Army and Navy Munitions Board, and had been approved in the Senate. Of the Republicans, 36 voted for and 125 against, while 36 did not vote. Of the Democrats, 110 voted for and 77 against, with 75 not voting.

The power trust is stronger in Washington today than at any time since 1932. Members of Congress, even on issues, follow the dictates of the power trust rather than the requirements of national defense. According to Chairman Leland Olds of the Federal Power Commission, "War production will soon require annually more than all the electricity sold by central station electrical systems, both public and private, for all purposes in the country in 1940. This means that within a year there will be widespread rationing of power. Many non-defense factories will be closed down, for no other reason than a power shortage."

When the New Deal came into office, five percent of the installed generating capacity was public. Today the figure is 16 percent. The TVA last year generated 5,556,000,000 k.w.h., much of it now making aluminum for airplanes. And we might now be generating 13,200,000,000 k.w.h. on the St. Lawrence project if the power trust's influence had not killed the measure in 1934. It is clear where we would be today if the power trust had won out completely, and its stooges in Congress, fear increased capacity, particularly public capacity, more than they do a Hitler victory.



## The Evidence: II

### Senators up for Reëlection

[illegible]

No. 1. *March 31, 1939.*—Continue mandatory arms embargo. Same issue as in House vote. At this time Poland had fallen and France and England were at war.

No. 2. *October 27, 1939.*—Passage of administration neutrality bill. Same issue as in House vote.

No. 3. August 28, 1940. — Conscription law. Same is-  
as in House vote.

No. 4. *March 7, 1941.*—Limit use of armed forces to Western Hemisphere. This was merely an effort to prevent effective aid to Allied countries.

No. 5. March 8, 1941.—The proposal of a loan of \$2,000,000,000 as opposed to lease-lend. A wholly inadequate substitution for lease-lend.

No. 6. March 8, 1941.—Lease-lend bill. The most important vote on foreign policy.

No. 7. May 15, 1941. — No transfer of Axis ships to Great Britain. Merely an effort to oppose the President's foreign policies.

No. 8. August 7, 1941. — An eighteen-month extension of military training. Same issue as in House vote.

No. 9. November 7, 1941. — Keep belligerent port and combat-zone bans. Same issue as in House vote.

No. 10. November 7, 1941. — Neutrality Act Revision.  
Passed.

No. 11. May 12, 1937. — The \$112,000,000 appropriation for construction of Gilbertville Dam in the TVA. This is a straight vote for the TVA or against it.

No. 12. July 22, 1937. — Motion to recommit the President's court bill. This vote furnished a clear indication of whether a member was for the President in his Supreme Court fight or against him.

No. 13. August 4, 1937. — Amendment by Senator Byrd to housing bill, limiting cost to \$4,000 per unit. Senator Wagner said that this amendment would destroy his housing bill by making it unworkable. With the housing shortage that has developed today, the attitude of Senators on adequate housing is particularly in point.

No. 14. March 28, 1938. — Government reorganization bill.

No. 15. January 27, 1939.—The \$875,000,000 relief bill. Same proposal as in House vote on relief.

*No. 16. June 22, 1939.*—Surtax on incomes to start at \$3,000 rather than \$4,000. A minimal test of statesmanship. Obviously people in the income bracket from \$5,000 to \$10,000 should have paid higher income taxes in this period than they did.

No. 17. July 28, 1939. — The President's \$3,000,000,000 self-liquidating public-works bill was whittled down in the Senate by a series of amendments which eliminated \$500,000,000 for toll roads, and the Wheeler amendment eliminating \$350,000,000 which was to be loaned to railroads for the purpose of building equipment. In view of the present shortage of railroad equipment the vote on the Wheeler amendment is timely.

No. 18. April 25, 1940.—Senate vote which sought to cut CCC appropriations by \$25,000,000.

No. 19. May 27, 1940.—Revised anti-labor-spy bill.  
Passed.

No. 20. September 19, 1940.—To terminate further issue of tax-exempt securities. An illuminating vote.



# The Obstructionists

IT IS NEVER EASY to single out individuals for censure. For one reason, those who are picked have different failings, act upon different motives, and vary in their responsibility for obstructing our program of full mobilization. The men named cannot be regarded as constituting a single group, and great caution must be exercised in associating them with each other. Yet these men, for various reasons, have formed the main bottlenecks in our program of the last two years.

HAMILTON FISH, Republican, of Dutchess County, New York, is closer to the Nazis than any other man in Congress. Stemming from the time in August, 1939, when Fish talked to von Ribbentrop and afterwards announced that the Nazi claims were "just," his hatred for the administration has led him beyond the extreme limits of reasonable democratic opposition. He has spoken at German Day meetings, in halls where Nazi flags were displayed and Nazi songs sung. He has contributed an article to *Today's Challenge*, a Nazi propaganda magazine published by the Hitler agent, Dr. Frederick Auhagen. Fish's opposition to America's foreign policy led him to become an intimate of the notorious Nazi agent, George Sylvester Viereck, for whom he performed services in Congress. When these services, centering around the abuse of the congressional franking privilege for the distribution of Nazi propaganda, were exposed to a grand jury, Fish attempted to sacrifice his secretary, George Hill, in order to protect himself. Fearing a long sentence, Hill turned state's evidence and told of activities which Fish had sworn did not exist. Today the Republican Party, which so long followed Fish, no longer cares to associate itself with him. Yet Fish is still campaigning: it is by no means certain that he will be defeated.

STEPHEN DAY, Republican, of Evanston, Illinois, has been a member of the House of Representatives only since 1940, but in that short time his actions have established him as a perfect Chicago Tribune Representative. Day has consistently voted against all bills designed to strengthen our defense. Day's speeches follow the propaganda line of the Axis; at times they sound as if they had just been picked up from the short-wave radio. Broadcasting on September 8, 1941, Day announced that "the threat of an invasion by Hitler of our own soil or any part of the Western Hemisphere has vanished into thin air." In this same speech, Day took a crack at the administration: "Bear in mind, my friends, I am reading from the official book of the Communists in America and not from the New Deal program. Can you see any difference?"

Day is the proud author of an anti-British book, "We Must Save the Republic," originally published

by Flanders Hall, publishers financed by Prescott Dennett, whose Nazi activities are notorious. When attacked on this score, Day arose on the floor of the House and announced that he had had the book reprinted at his own expense by Shaw, an American publisher. Visitors to the Shaw firms find mostly Flanders Hall books on display.

Representative Day has sent out more Nazi propaganda under his frank than any other member of Congress. On September 4, 1941, in Detroit, Day spoke under the auspices of the Committee of One Million, the organization of the notorious American fascist, Gerald L. K. Smith. On September 29, Stephen Day offered his radio audience the following ultimatum: "We have presented to us a clear choice and it is this: Follow the Constitution or follow the President. If you follow the Constitution, we can stay out of war and keep faith with the American people. If you follow the President you will be untrue to the people and your oath of office."

CLARE E. HOFFMAN, Republican, of Allegan, Michigan, was first elected to Congress in 1934. He belongs to that small group in Congress which deserves to be classified as almost conscious fascists.

For the past few weeks Hoffman has been busily occupied before a Grand Jury trying to explain away the 145,000 copies of his inflammatory speech "Don't Haul Down the Stars and Stripes," which were distributed by William Kullgren, editor of the pro-Nazi *Beacon Light*, under Hoffman's frank. Recently Kullgren predicted that President Roosevelt would be assassinated, and added: "If the people fail to act I am satisfied that Divinity will."

The Hoffman record is almost 100-percent bad on both foreign and domestic issues. Pearl Harbor did not get in the way of his rabid isolationism. In June of 1941, Clare Hoffman was suggesting that President Roosevelt be impeached. On January 27, 1942, Hoffman was saying, "The Commander-in-Chief, of course, got us into this thing, when he himself had failed to prepare to meet it, and here we are." On February 6, 1942, Hoffman's deep and consuming hatred of the President spewed out: "'Dust thou art; unto dust thou shalt return.' Since his day, millions of people have been born and all have died, and there is no reason to believe that Franklin Delano Roosevelt will not go the way of all flesh."

PAUL SHAFER, Republican, of Battle Creek, Michigan, since he came to Congress in 1937 has been trying to ape Clare Hoffman. His record is almost identical with Hoffman's and, like Hoffman's, his speeches are full of venomous attacks upon our government and our



allies. In particular, attacks made by Shafer upon Union Now and the British have followed closely, both in their timing and in their spirit, similar attacks in Social Justice, Publicity, The Galilean and other magazines which the government has suppressed as seditious. He too deserves to be classified with the almost conscious fascists in the Congress.

HOWARD SMITH, Democrat, of Alexandria, Virginia, has been kept in Congress since 1931 by the votes of about ten percent of the citizens of his poll-tax district. Smith has done as thorough a job of disrupting our war morale by his incessant attacks on labor as Martin Dies has done by his methods. Smith's voting record shows not one vote in the interests of the poor man in his district.

In addition to a voting record reflecting black reaction, Howard Smith has a personal record not entirely free from blemishes. When the federal government was planning the great Memorial Highway from Washington to Mount Vernon, Howard Smith grabbed up land along the right of way and attempted to sell it to the government at fancy prices. When the War Department planned a huge new office building across the river in Virginia, Smith, through some partners, purchased a large tract of land on which they have built flimsy houses which are being sold to government workers at exorbitant profits.

Howard Smith is a prominent member of the Virginia Milk Producers' Association, an organization of the big dairy farmers in the area, which controls 85 to 90 percent of the milk in the Washington area. Through the Association, small dairy farmers are barred from selling in Washington by unduly restrictive license requirements and the Washington consumer also takes the rap in higher prices.

From his strategic position on the Rules Committee, Smith is able to be an effective bottleneck for progressive measures and a vigorous expeditor of all anti-labor legislation. As an obstructionist he is outstanding.

MARTIN DIES, Democrat, of Orange, Texas, who came to Congress in 1931, has been so clearly acting in the best interests of the Axis governments that he is now the most frequently quoted American on Axis broadcasts sent to this hemisphere. A report of the Federal Communications Commission on Dies states: "Representative Dies received as many favorable references in Axis propaganda to this country as any living American public figure. His opinions were quoted by the Axis without criticism at any time."

Dies's principal contributions to the war effort have been so to harass important government officials like Leon Henderson with ridiculous charges of subversive activities that they have had to stop essential war business in order to defend themselves. In addition, Dies

has found time to sow discord and mistrust between us and our allies, particularly the Soviet Union. Recently Vice President Wallace declared that "doubts and anger which statements of Mr. Dies tend to arouse in the public mind might as well come from Goebbels himself as far as their practical effect is concerned."

WILLIAM PURNELL LAMBERTSON, Republican, of Fairview, Kansas, has been a member of the House since the year 1929. Starting out as a liberal, he became an obstructionist on domestic issues and has made some of the wildest attacks upon the President of any member of Congress. Lambertson is one of the solid core of diehards who fought every act of foreign policy and distorted every issue. In the House on February 17, 1942, of this year, these words of resignation can give his constituents little cheer: "I voted for the declaration of war. Nobody would have told me that I would on the sixth of December, but I did. We were maneuvered into it."

HAROLD KNUTSON, Republican, of St. Cloud, Minnesota, originally came in as a liberal. Now Knutson can always be counted on to do his best with a nasty tongue and a little mind to obstruct our victory drive.

In March, 1941, Knutson said: "I am wondering if some of this feeling displayed against Hitler at the other end of the Avenue is not inspired by reason of the fact that Hitler has been crowding certain individuals for front-page notice in the newspapers." By October, 1941, "Indeed I am not sure that this administration is not prepared to plunge the country into war before election if that becomes necessary for the success of the third term." Pearl Harbor did not even slow him down. March 23, 1942: "Will Americans graciously bow down to all the totalitarian decrees which will restrict their sugar, their motor cars, their oil, their apparel, their way of life and their pocketbooks simply to satisfy the ambitions of those who understand victory to be the complete overthrow of their enemies?"

EUGENE COX, Democrat, of Camilla, Georgia, has served nine terms, eighteen years in the House, and has a right to vie with Howard Smith for high rank as a labor-baiter. Cox is now under investigation by the Department of Justice for alleged violation of a federal statute which forbids a congressman to accept money for especially representing a private client before an agency of the government. Cox may be indicted for doing special favors for the Herald Broadcasting Company of Albany, Georgia. The FBI is interested in an exchange of checks for \$2,500 between Cox and the company in August, 1941.

Gene Cox has consistently voted against the best interests of the little man, the poor man in his district, for eighteen years. But after all, it was the moderately well off who voted for him. It costs two dollars to vote



in poll-tax Georgia and a good many plain citizens have heretofore felt it wasn't worth the trouble and the money—if they had it—to go down to the polls and say what they felt about Gene. It was only seven percent of his district's voters who sent Cox back to the House in 1942.

Cox has consistently voted with the President on foreign-policy matters for the last two years, but in the cloakrooms he is said to have stated that he was voting that way only because he had to stay within the folds of the Democratic Party in the South and that personally he agreed with the isolationist position.

WILLIAM B. BARRY, Democrat, of Queens County, New York, who came to the House in 1935, has been an ardent proponent of America First. He has consistently opposed practically all important foreign issues which have come before the House since 1939. At an America First rally in Queens during November, 1941, Barry made this statement on foreign affairs: "We can not only trade with Hitler, but can make a nice profit doing so." On two occasions in November, 1941, Barry shared America First platforms with the convicted Nazi agent, Laura Ingalls.

FRANK KEEFE, Republican, of Oshkosh, Wisconsin, came to Congress in 1939, from a lucrative law practice. His voting record is completely bad on foreign and domestic issues, even more so than that of other reactionary members of the Wisconsin delegation.

Keefe has assumed the role of a principal apologist for the Dies Committee on the floor of the House.

LELAND FORD, Republican, of Santa Monica, California, had been in the real-estate business for nineteen years before he came to Congress in 1934. Ford has got where he is today, in the opinion of astute California political observers, not so much on his own ability as by trading on the possible chances for mistaken identity among himself, Rep. Thomas Ford and John Anson Ford, both of whom are New Dealers. Leland Ford has taken advantage of the voters' confusion on this score and has also traded on California's pernicious system of cross filings which permits him to file both as a Republican and as a Democrat, further adding to the confusion.

Although Ford's voting record looks comparatively reasonable, he has a great way of voting to recommit in the House.

Leland Ford was the leader in the attack on Mrs. Roosevelt and the Office of Civilian Defense. He is consistently anti-labor and anti-public power and public housing. Prejudice led him, in the OCD debate, to refer constantly to "Melvyn Douglas, *alias* Hesselberg," confirming the charge of Representative Engel that "a man need only be pro-labor and Jewish to be damned on the floor of the House."

CHARLES FADDIS, Democrat of Waynesburg, Pennsylvania, came to Congress when the Democrats first regained the state in 1934. Since soon after he came to Washington his colleagues have seen him become more and more violent in his attacks on every humane or progressive measure.

Faddis vies with Hoffman in venomous language. He has supported the administration foreign policy consistently, but has fought the administration on farm, labor and public-power measures. As chairman of a Military Affairs Subcommittee Faddis hired the notorious Edmund Toland, former counsel of the Smith anti-labor committee. He used his position to exonerate big business from all failure in defense production and to place all the blame on labor. On February 6, 1942, Faddis revealed an innate prejudice when he praised "that matchless and heroic soldier General MacArthur battling in the forests of the Philippines every day, every hour—yes even every minute—in danger of his life, to preserve the fate of the white race in the Orient."

EVERETT DIRKSEN, Republican, of Pekin, Illinois, has been a strong opponent of many vital foreign and domestic measures, in spite of the fact that he is one of the abler men in the House. He has voted consistently against the President's foreign policy, and has voted for the Smith bill and other anti-labor legislation. Dirksen has taken the part of the Farm Bureau Federation and the well-to-do farmer against the Farm Security Administration and has been a leader in opposing public power.

DEWEY SHORT, Republican, of Galena, Missouri, is one of the cleverest, most violent demagogues in the House. His speeches denouncing each measure of resistance to the Nazi challenge have been wild, extravagant and often cheap. As much as any man he has distorted the issues before the American people and the very violence of his language has given him a following in Congress among weaker men. Not long before Pearl Harbor, Short declared, "I am proud that I led the fight against the selective-service bill."

JOSHUA LEROY JOHNS, Republican member from Appleton, Wisconsin, since 1938, is a political accident. In the battle between the Democrats and the Progressives, Mr. Johns somehow got elected by a couple of thousand votes. Because he thinks it politically expedient, Mr. Johns has been an isolationist; in fact he went so far as to make speeches before America First groups in Southern California during the summer of 1941. Mr. Johns also feels that the President is really responsible for Pearl Harbor, and remarks regretfully, "As you know, I was opposed to getting into this war, but we talked ourselves in and we have to fight ourselves out" (The Congressional Record, Jan. 9, 1942).



In 1933, Johns was president of the International Kiwanians, who, plus the Republican Party, are responsible for his presence in the House today. For many years Mr. Johns has been interested in a business belonging to his first wife, known as the Algoma Plywood and Veneer Company. The employees of this company were paid the munificent sum of ten cents an hour over a long period of time. In June of 1941, the AFL attempted to organize the plant, and met with such resistance that the case finally came before the NLRB, where the findings proved the management guilty of unfair labor practices. Mr. Johns may well find that the home folks will have none of him, that in Wisconsin as well as in other parts of the country, politics of the isolation type are out for the duration.

MARTIN SWEENEY, Democrat, of Cleveland, Ohio, has served in the House since 1931. Sweeney has boasted of the fact that he is Father Coughlin's man in Congress. His violent anti-British statements both before and after Pearl Harbor have won him the nickname of "the Big Bill Thompson" of Cleveland.

Sweeney's voting record on domestic issues has been good with a few recent exceptions, as for instance his recent vote with the power trust on the Table Rock Dam issue. On foreign affairs, he has been directly opposed to the President's policies and has been a leader of the isolationists at every test. He introduced Charles Lindbergh at a Cleveland rally last fall and was an active America First worker and speaker. Last month the voters of Cleveland defeated Sweeney two to one in the Democratic mayoralty primary after a whirlwind campaign in which he spent most of his energy attacking Roosevelt's foreign policy and, on the positive side, advocated bingo.

JOHN RANKIN, Democrat, of Tupelo, Mississippi, has been in the Congress continuously since 1921. Rankin has supported the President's foreign policy. His only claim to praise is that he has been a real leader in the public-power fight. Aside from that, however, he is opposed to all other progressive administration measures. He is anti-alien, anti-Semitic and perhaps the most bitter anti-Negro individual in the Congress.

KARL MUNDT, Republican, of Madison, South Dakota, who came to Congress in 1939, has been extremely active as an America First speaker, appearing on Eastern platforms with Ham Fish and others, as well as in his native Middle West. He was used especially as a speaker for rallies in German-American communities; his pro-fascist tendencies have been quite clearly indicated in these public addresses.

Mundt characterized the Lease-Lend Act in this manner: "H. R. 1776 is a new declaration of independence, of, by and for the Executive. It is also a funeral dirge for an independent and effective Congress."

JAMES VAN ZANDT, Republican, of Altoona, Pennsylvania, came to Congress in 1939, largely through his strength with the veterans' organizations. His district is a large railroad center and traditionally companies like the Pennsylvania Railroad have a keen interest in the political affairs of the district. Van Zandt, who was trained in the Pennsylvania Railroad Apprentice School and later worked for the company, can be counted on to lobby for the railroads on the floor today.

Van Zandt has been an important America Firster and at one such rally he permitted booing and hissing of the President and himself said that the President should be impeached.

JOSEPH STARNES, Democrat, of Guntersville, Alabama, has been in the Congress since 1934. National fame first came to him when, as a member of the Dies Committee, he sought to establish Christopher Marlowe as an American Communist. He subsequently exposed a National Labor Relations Board employee as a Communist by reason of the fact that he had visited Mexico and studied anthropology. Starnes has proved a conscientious understudy to Martin Dies. Never has he questioned any action of his mentor. Never has he voted for the domestic legislation of the New Deal, except the TVA, which is so popular in his district that he dare not oppose it. Perhaps it is significant that the kind of anti-labor violence Starnes advocates occurs with startling regularity in his district, where vigilantes abound.

THOMAS WINTER, Republican, of Girard, Kansas, came to Congress in 1938 and, contrary to custom among novice members, immediately began to speak out against public-power measures in a manner reminiscent of monopoly-interest spokesmen for years past.

Winter's voting record is bad on foreign as well as domestic issues, but his principal energy here has gone into hamstringing the Rural Electrification Administration, Bonneville and other public-power projects.

HARRY COFFEE, Democrat, of Chadron, Nebraska, although he has been in the House only since 1939, is one of the House's most conservative Democrats. He is bad on both foreign and domestic issues. He has been quoted in Nebraska papers as calling the President a dictator.

Although Harry Coffee comes from the good cattle country of northwest Nebraska, he seems to have divorced himself from his constituents, their ideas and their way of living.

J. PARNELL THOMAS, Republican, of Allendale, New Jersey, has a clear record as a reactionary isolationist. Thomas has been a rubber stamp to Dies on the Dies Committee. His chief claim to fame rests on his persistent efforts to impeach Frances Perkins.

Thomas gave a rather full exposition of his views



on the state of the world at an American Defense Society luncheon in April, 1941, when he said that the only way to solve our problems is to get rid of Sidney Hillman and Frances Perkins. He described how he and Dies uncovered the Bund and Pelley, and went on to identify communism as the real menace to America, implying at the same time that the philosophy of the Communists and the New Deal are the same.

JAMES FRANCIS O'CONNOR, Democrat, of Livingston, Montana, came to the House in 1935. During the last term, he has served principally as a stooge for Burton K. Wheeler. An active America Firster, O'Connor was a familiar sight on America First platforms throughout the country. He has been a bitter and sarcastic critic of the President and the administration.

FREDERICK SMITH, Republican, of Marion, Ohio, a physician, was first elected in 1939. His isolationist position extends back to the last war, and his anti-New Deal position extends back to its beginning.

Smith thinks of himself in the old Ohio Republican tradition of McKinley and the rest and holds what might be called a McKinley gold bias. He votes regularly in the interest of the private-power companies and thus to the benefit of his friends in the Marion Reserve Power Company. He operates the Smith Clinic for male diseases, which is not looked upon without criticism by other members of the Ohio medical profession. He finds time in the Congress to introduce numerous measures for the benefit of Dr. Tucker's Asthma Specific, a patent medicine made in his district which has had difficulties because of the pure-food-and-drug laws.

#### SENATORS

C. WAYLAND "CURLY" BROOKS, Republican Senator from Illinois since 1940, has found real buddies among the Ku Klux Klanners. On August 27, 1940, at Rockford, Illinois, Brooks spoke to a gathering of 60,000, sharing the platform and his prestige with Imperial Wizard Colescott. Brooks would appear to be the Congress' prize anomaly. Wounded seven times in the World War, decorated with the Croix de Guerre, the Distinguished Service Cross and the American Navy Cross, this war finds the Senator echoing the Nazi propaganda line. In his private war against the President, Brooks has used every known device to discredit the government. His sarcasm at the National Republican Club well expresses his sentiment. "There is already a propaganda movement to offer the United States what was offered France, citizenship in the British Empire. We are being asked to join up and pay our back dues since 1776." With the exception of the lease-lend-appropriations bills, Brooks has opposed all legislation designed to strengthen our defense. As a prominent America Firster, his pictures adorn their posters and

their literature. He is the senatorial spokesman for Co. Robert McCormick's Chicago Tribune.

W. LEE "PAPPY" O'DANIEL, Democrat, of Fort Worth, Texas, left his job as Governor to fill out the term of Senator Morris Sheppard in 1941.

He announced as he got off the train in Washington that his principal aim was to put through the same kind of anti-labor legislation he had foisted on Texas. O'Daniel has met with a cold reception from his colleagues. "Pappy" has spent most of his time in Washington introducing anti-strike and other anti-labor bills and making speeches on the evils of liquor.

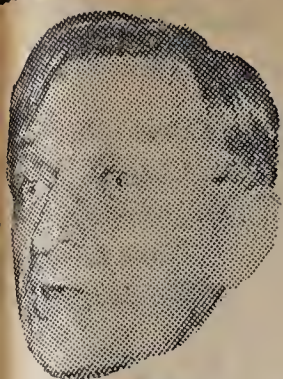
O'Daniel's first vote on foreign policy after he came to the Senate followed the Nye-Wheeler isolationists' leadership, but the protests from back home have forced him to reverse his votes if not his convictions.

ARTHUR CAPPER, Republican. The silver-haired gentleman from Topeka is now serving his sixth term in the Senate. In an issue of Social Justice, April 22, 1940, we find the following tribute, "Senator Capper shuns politics in favor of sound statesmanship." In Scribner's Commentator for February of 1941, appears a piece by Mr. Capper entitled "Time to Think American." "Whether we like it or not we should make up our minds that we have to live in the same world with Stalin, Mussolini and Hitler, or *their successors*. There is no reason why we should not have peaceful relations with the world, if we cease playing the role of international meddlesome Mattie and confine our activities to our own proper sphere."

In naming these twenty-three Representatives and three Senators, we have not the slightest intention of implying that they alone were the obstructionists or that others may be forgiven. A list of Representatives who thoroughly deserve to be beaten, would include also Representatives Andresen, Bennett, Bradley (of Michigan), Buck, Clevenger, Crawford, Dewey, Disney, Hartley, Hobbs, Jenkins, Jonkman, Mott, Pfeiffer, Reed, Miss Sumner, Thill and Woodruff. Perhaps forty others have records at least as bad as these. In the House, perhaps the most dangerous man of all, since he is one of the most powerful, is Joseph Martin. In every case, of course, no hard and fast rule can be laid down on the basis of the record alone. Final judgment can only be made between alternatives. Such a candidate for office as Gerald L. K. Smith, reputed to be the one-time holder of a membership card number 3223 in William Dudley Pelley's Silver Shirts and now contestant for the seat of Senator Prentiss M. Brown of Michigan, is worse than any man now in the House or Senate. On the other hand, it is often easier for a new man to make a fresh start than for men who were mistaken to admit their mistakes. Only common-sense judgment in each case can decide.



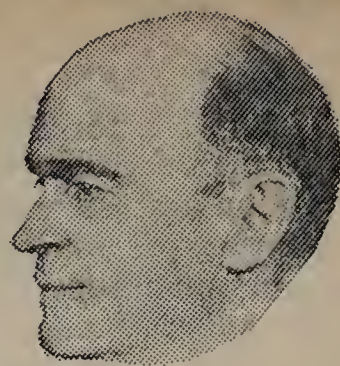
# THEY STAND FOR AN ALL-OUT FIGHT AGAINST THE AMERICAN PEOPLE



**E. HOFFMAN**, Republican, of Michigan. He is one of the leading leaders in Congress who suppress labor unions and instill totalitarian administration, all in the name of democracy. He is a simon-purist whom Pearl Harbor did not change, and he has suggested that Franklin Roosevelt be impeached. On June 6th, 1942, Clare Hoffman's hatred of the President brought forth his veiled warning: "Dust thou shalt rise, dust thou shalt return" is as true today as when Adam first drew breath. Since his day, millions of people have been born and all have died, and there is no reason to believe that Franklin Roosevelt will not go the same way as all flesh."



**CHARLES FADDIS**, Republican, of Waynesburg, Pennsylvania. He has been among the most ardent members of Congress in his opposition to every humane or progressive measure which would work for the benefit of the common man. He has consistently fought the Administration's farm program, labor program and public power measures. He introduced the notorious H. R. 10,000, a bill for the counsel to Father Coughlin, Secretary of the Senate Committee on Finance. He was a member of the House of Representatives and power of which he has been a leading exponent in defense production and rearmament. Out of 93,900 votes cast in 1940, a shift of 10,541 votes would have defeated Faddis. A redistricting in Pennsylvania makes his defeat a distinct possibility.



**STEPHEN DAY**, Republican, Congressman-at-large from Evanston, Illinois, has consistently voted against all bills designed to strengthen our defenses. Day's actions have closely paralleled the propaganda line of the Axis and he has consistently attempted to impute to the Administration a Communist coloring. Day is a rabid anti-Britisher whose book, "We Must Save the Republic," was published in this country by the Nazi publishing house, Flanders Hall. Out of 3,988,149 votes cast in 1940, a shift of 25,932 votes, or less than 1%, to Day's distinguished opponent, Prof. T. V. Smith of the University of Chicago, would have defeated Day. He can be beaten in 1942!

## GOOD CANDIDATES IN DANGER!

On this page and the inside front cover we have presented eight examples of Congressmen who must be defeated if we are to win the war and if that victory is to have meaning. Many other examples could have been selected. You will find them in the charts given on pages 699 through 705 of the attached complete analysis. But it must not be forgotten that, in addition, there are many Congressmen who have successfully withstood the obstructionism of the willful minority, men whose records, as indicated in our charts, prove them to be outstandingly forthright and courageous, *men who must be sent back to Washington*. Many of them face hard fights in the elections ahead. We urge your full support, not only for these incumbents, but also for the many excellent candidates not now in Congress but who should be there after the November elections.



**LELAND FORD**, Republican, of Santa Monica, California. He is one of the most consistently anti-Roosevelt, anti-liberal leaders in the House. He was the leader in the unspeakable attack on Mrs. Roosevelt and the Office of Civilian Defense. While the majority of his constituents are pro-Administration, Ford has been the beneficiary of confusion of his surname with that of two other prominent California New Dealers. Ford, unopposed in 1940, having won both Republican and Democratic nominations, is being opposed in 1942 by Will Rogers, Jr. He can be defeated!

# THEY CAN BE DEFEATED IN NOVEMBER



# TOWARD A WORLD-WIDE VICTORY FOR DEMOCRACY

The Union for Democratic Action was founded in May, 1941, to give voice to the great American liberal democratic tradition in a time of crisis when the world was convulsed by the "revolution against" all that America means. There were numerous organizations doing a fine rate job of awakening the American people to the menace of Hitlerism from without but there was no organization which saw clearly and said strikingly that fascism had to be fought on two grounds—*abroad and at home*.

Organizationally, the Union for Democratic Action has come to serve as a clearing house and a crystallizing force for liberal progressive thought and action in America. The Union for Democratic Action has set down certain principles which it holds to be valid in these days and whose truth must be understood and acted upon if we are not to sink into a new dark age of fascism. They are:-

1. Fascism as an external peril must be smashed by whatever political, economic and military means are available to meet the new barbarians.
2. Fascism as an internal danger can be overcome only by the defeat of fascism abroad and by making the extension of democracy at home an integral part of the struggle.
3. Military victory without the accompaniment of a just peace and the abolition of the conditions of international anarchy which gave birth to fascism would only invite its return in more virulent form and would lead inevitably to a future of gigantic wars and bloodshed.

The Union for Democratic Action has established itself in the year past as the authoritative spokesman for American liberalism and now maintains offices in key cities throughout the country. Its immediate task is the election of a CONGRESS FOR VICTORY and to that task it is devoting until November all its energies and resources.

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## *I Vote for* A CONGRESS FOR VICTORY

ALBERT SPRAGUE COOLIDGE, *Treasurer*  
Union for Democratic Action  
120 East 16th Street, New York, N. Y.

I want to contribute \$1,000 ☐ \$500 ☐ \$250 ☐ \$100 ☐ to your  
\$50,000 Fund for the election of a CONGRESS FOR VICTORY.

I want to contribute \$..... as my share in this work.

I am especially interested in the Congressional contest in the.....District,  
.....State, .....  
(name or names of candidates)

NAME .....

ADDRESS .....

CITY ..... STATE .....

(Please make checks payable to Albert Sprague Coolidge, Treasurer)



# The United Nations

## Dumbarton Oaks Proposals

*for a*

## General International Organization

*To be the subject of*

THE UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE *at San Francisco, April 25, 1945*

THERE SHOULD be established an international organization under the title of The United Nations, the Charter of which should contain provisions necessary to give effect to the proposals which follow.

### *Chapter I. Purposes*

The purposes of the Organization should be:

1. To maintain international peace and security; and to that end to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace and the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by peaceful means adjustment or settlement of international disputes which may lead to a breach of the peace;
2. To develop friendly relations among nations and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace;
3. To achieve international cooperation in the solution of international economic, social and other humanitarian problems; and
4. To afford a center for harmonizing the actions of nations in the achievement of these common ends.

### *Chapter II. Principles*

In pursuit of the purposes mentioned in Chapter I the Organization and its members should act in accordance with the following principles:

1. The Organization is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving states.

2. All members of the Organization undertake, in order to ensure to all of them the rights and benefits resulting from membership in the Organization, to fulfill the obligations assumed by them in accordance with the Charter.

3. All members of the Organization shall settle their disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security are not endangered.

4. All members of the Organization shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force in any manner inconsistent with the purposes of the Organization.

5. All members of the Organization shall give every assistance to the Organization in any action undertaken by it in accordance with the provisions of the Charter.

6. All members of the Organization shall refrain from giving assistance to any state against which preventive or enforcement action is being undertaken by the Organization.

The Organization should ensure that states not members of the Organization act in accordance with these principles so far as may be necessary for the maintenance of international peace and security.

### *Chapter III. Membership*

1. Membership of the Organization should be open to all peace-loving states.



## *Chapter IV. Principal Organs*

1. The Organization should have as its principal organs:

- a. A General Assembly;
- b. A Security Council;
- c. An international court of justice; and
- d. A Secretariat.

2. The Organization should have such subsidiary agencies as may be found necessary.

## *Chapter V. The General Assembly*

SECTION A. COMPOSITION. All members of the Organization should be members of the General Assembly and should have a number of representatives to be specified in the Charter.

SECTION B. FUNCTIONS AND POWERS. 1. The General Assembly should have the right to consider the general principles of cooperation in the maintenance of international peace and security, including the principles governing disarmament and the regulation of armaments; to discuss any questions relating to the maintenance of international peace and security brought before it by any member or members of the Organization or by the Security Council; and to make recommendations with regard to any such principles or questions. Any such questions on which action is necessary should be referred to the Security Council by the General Assembly either before or after discussion. The General Assembly should not on its own initiative make recommendations on any matter relating to the maintenance of international peace and security which is being dealt with by the Security Council.

2. The General Assembly should be empowered to admit new members to the Organization upon recommendation of the Security Council.

3. The General Assembly should, upon recommendation of the Security Council, be empowered to suspend from the exercise of any rights or privileges of membership any member of the Organization against which preventive or enforcement action shall have been taken by the Security Council. The exercise of the rights and privileges thus suspended may be restored by decision of the Security Council. The General Assembly should be empowered, upon recommendation of the Security Council, to expel from the Organization any member of the Organization which persistently violates the principles contained in the Charter.

4. The General Assembly should elect the non-permanent members of the Security Council and the members of the Economic and Social Council provided for in Chapter IX. It should be empowered

to elect, upon recommendation of the Security Council, the Secretary-General of the Organization. It should perform such functions in relation to the election of the judges of the international court of justice as may be conferred upon it by the statute of the court.

5. The General Assembly should apportion the expenses among the members of the Organization and should be empowered to approve the budgets of the Organization.

6. The General Assembly should initiate studies and make recommendations for the purpose of promoting international cooperation in political, economic and social fields and of adjusting situations likely to impair the general welfare.

7. The General Assembly should make recommendations for the coordination of the policies of international economic, social, and other specialized agencies brought into relation with the Organization in accordance with agreements between such agencies and the Organization.

8. The General Assembly should receive and consider annual and special reports from the Security Council and reports from other bodies of the Organization.

SECTION C. VOTING. 1. Each member of the Organization should have one vote in the General Assembly.

2. Important decisions of the General Assembly, including recommendations with respect to the maintenance of international peace and security; election of members of the Security Council; election of members of the Economic and Social Council; admission of members, suspension of the exercise of the rights and privileges of members, and expulsion of members; and budgetary questions, should be made by a two-thirds majority of those present and voting. On other questions, including the determination of additional categories of questions to be decided by a two-thirds majority, the decisions of the General Assembly should be made by a simple majority vote.

SECTION D. PROCEDURE. 1. The General Assembly should meet in regular annual sessions and in such special sessions as occasion may require.

2. The General Assembly should adopt its own rules of procedure and elect its President for each session.

3. The General Assembly should be empowered to set up such bodies and agencies as it may deem necessary for the performance of its functions.

## *Chapter VI. The Security Council*

SECTION A. COMPOSITION. The Security Council should consist of one representative of each of eleven members of the Organization. Representatives of



the United States of America, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Republic of China, and, in due course, France, should have permanent seats. The General Assembly should elect six states to fill the non-permanent seats. These six states should be elected for a term of two years, three retiring each year. They should not be immediately eligible for reelection. In the first election of the non-permanent members three should be chosen by the General Assembly for one-year terms and three for two-year terms.

#### SECTION B. PRINCIPAL FUNCTIONS AND POWERS.

1. In order to ensure prompt and effective action by the Organization, members of the Organization should by the Charter confer on the Security Council primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security and should agree that in carrying out these duties under this responsibility it should act on their behalf.

2. In discharging these duties the Security Council should act in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Organization.

3. The specific powers conferred on the Security Council in order to carry out these duties are laid down in Chapter VIII.

4. All members of the Organization should obligate themselves to accept the decisions of the Security Council and to carry them out in accordance with the provisions of the Charter.

5. In order to promote the establishment and maintenance of international peace and security with the least diversion of the world's human and economic resources for armaments, the Security Council, with the assistance of the Military Staff Committee referred to in Chapter VIII, Section B, paragraph 9, should have the responsibility for formulating plans for the establishment of a system of regulation of armaments for submission to the members of the Organization.

[Here follows the text of Section C as proposed at the Crimea Conference:]

SECTION C. VOTING. 1. Each member of the Security Council should have one vote.

2. Decisions of the Security Council on procedural matters should be made by an affirmative vote of seven members.

3. Decisions of the Security Council on all other matters should be made by an affirmative vote of seven members including the concurring votes of the permanent members; provided that, in decisions under Chapter VIII, Section A, and under the second sentence of Paragraph 1 of Chapter VIII,

Section C, a party to a dispute should abstain from voting.

SECTION D. PROCEDURE. 1. The Security Council should be so organized as to be able to function continuously and each state member of the Security Council should be permanently represented at the headquarters of the Organization. It may hold meetings at such other places as in its judgment may best facilitate its work. There should be periodic meetings at which each state member of the Security Council could if it so desired be represented by a member of the government or some other special representative.

2. The Security Council should be empowered to set up such bodies or agencies as it may deem necessary for the performance of its functions including regional subcommittees of the Military Staff Committee.

3. The Security Council should adopt its own rules of procedure, including the method of selecting its President.

4. Any member of the Organization should participate in the discussion of any question brought before the Security Council whenever the Security Council considers that the interests of that member of the Organization are specially affected.

5. Any member of the Organization not having a seat on the Security Council and any state not a member of the Organization, if it is a party to a dispute under consideration by the Security Council, should be invited to participate in the discussion relating to the dispute.

#### *Chapter VII. An International Court of Justice*

1. There should be an international court of justice which should constitute the principal judicial organ of the Organization.

2. The court should be constituted and should function in accordance with a statute which should be annexed to and be a part of the Charter of the Organization.

3. The statute of the court of international justice should be either (a) the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice, continued in force with such modifications as may be desirable or (b) a new statute in the preparation of which the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice should be used as a basis.

4. All members of the Organization should *ipso facto* be parties to the statute of the international court of justice.

5. Conditions under which states not members of the Organization may become parties to the statute of the international court of justice should be deter-



# THE UNITED NATIONS

## AN ORGANIZATION FOR PEACE AND WORLD PROGRESS



### ENCOURAGES NATIONS TO COOPERATE

Seeks solutions to pressing political, economic, and social problems and helps nations to cooperate in solving them.



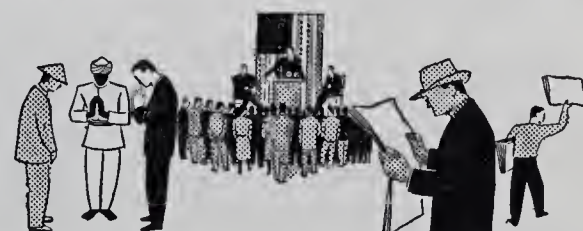
### PROMOTES PROSPERITY

Helps nations work together for post-war reconstruction, increased trade, dependable money, and economic development.



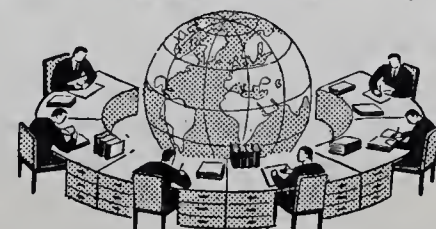
### ADVANCES SOCIAL PROGRESS

Helps nations to raise standards of living, health, and education to achieve a richer life for all.



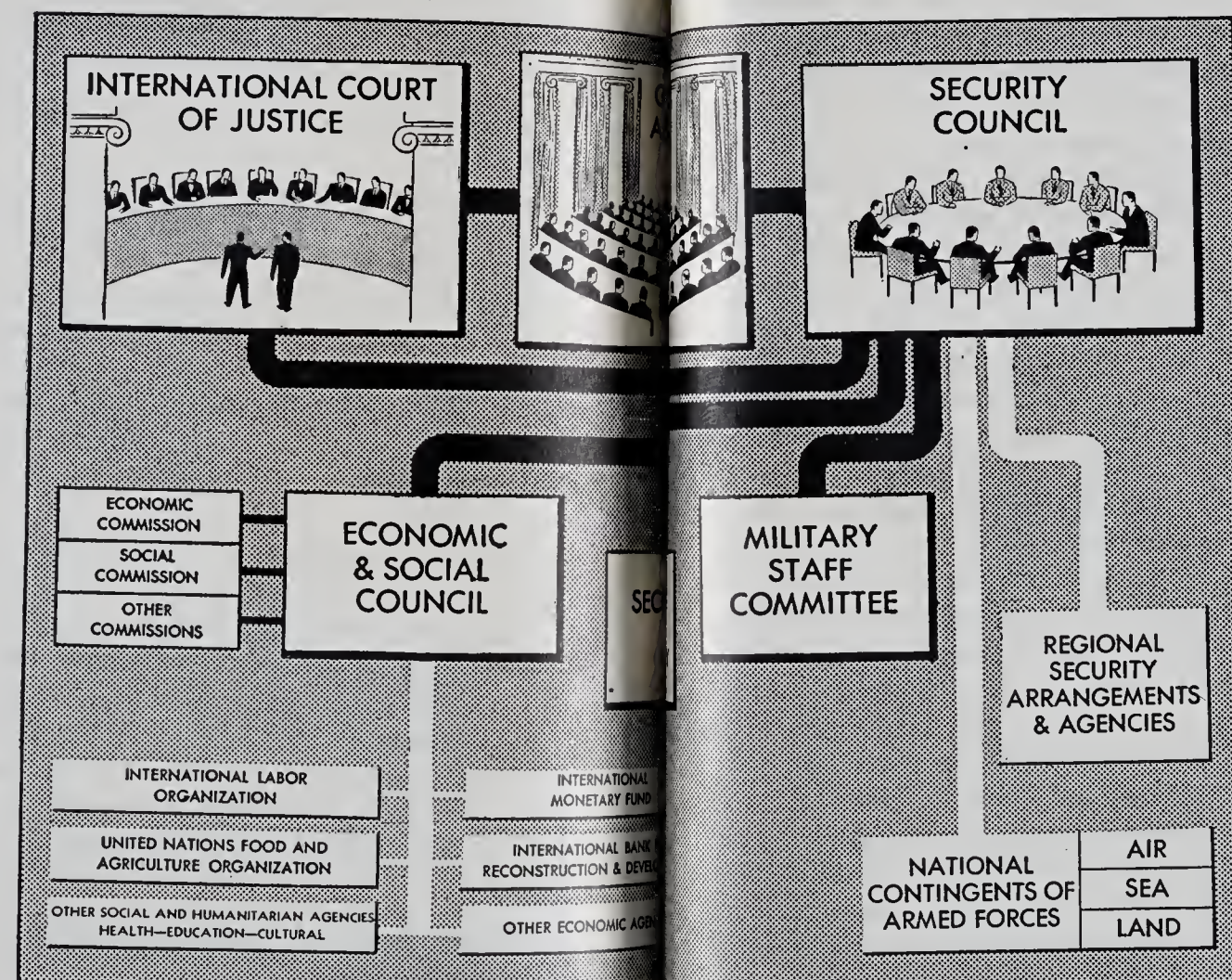
### FOSTERS FREEDOMS

Cultivates respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, to insure the free flow of knowledge essential to material and spiritual growth.



### COORDINATES INTERNATIONAL AGENCIES

Assures coordination and cooperation among the international organizations working on vital problems.



### INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION BASED AT DUMBARTON OAKS

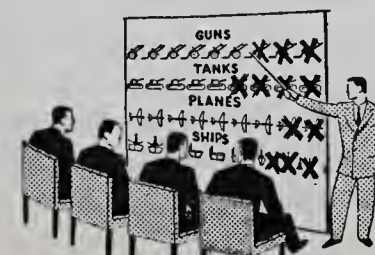
The Proposals were recommended to their governments by the United States, Great Britain, USSR, and released on October 9, 1944. They are offered for full representatives of the United States, Great Britain, USSR, and the governments and peoples of the United Nations.



### ADMITS NEW MEMBERS TO UNITED NATIONS

Brings in new member nations and, if necessary in the interests of peace, expels members or suspends their rights and privileges.

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION ASK YOUR



### MAKES PLANS TO CONTROL ARMAMENTS

Elaborates plans for the regulation and limitation of armaments.



### INVESTIGATES DISPUTES BETWEEN NATIONS

Finds out about differences or disputes between nations that might lead to international friction or cause a threat to the peace.



### SEEKS PEACEFUL SETTLEMENTS

Urges nations to settle their disputes by peaceful means, including appeal to the International Court of Justice.



### DECIDES ON MEASURES TO KEEP THE PEACE

Security Council decides what steps should be taken if a dispute continues and war is threatened.



### TAKES POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC ACTION

Cuts off trade, communication and diplomatic relations with nations threatening the peace. Member nations cooperate as requested.



### TAKES MILITARY ACTION

As a last resort, uses armed contingents of United Nations to keep or restore the peace. Military Staff Committee advises on best use of forces.



mined in each case by the General Assembly upon recommendation of the Security Council.

*Chapter VIII. Arrangements for the Maintenance of International Peace and Security Including Prevention and Suppression of Aggression*

SECTION A. PACIFIC SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES. 1.

The Security Council should be empowered to investigate any dispute, or any situation which may lead to international friction or give rise to a dispute, in order to determine whether its continuance is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security.

2. Any state, whether member of the Organization or not, may bring any such dispute or situation to the attention of the General Assembly or of the Security Council.

3. The parties to any dispute the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security should obligate themselves, first of all, to seek a solution by negotiation, mediation, conciliation, arbitration or judicial settlement, or other peaceful means of their own choice. The Security Council should call upon the parties to settle their dispute by such means.

4. If, nevertheless, parties to a dispute of the nature referred to in paragraph 3 above fail to settle it by the means indicated in that paragraph, they should obligate themselves to refer it to the Security Council. The Security Council should in each case decide whether or not the continuance of the particular dispute is in fact likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, and, accordingly, whether the Security Council should deal with the dispute, and, if so, whether it should take action under paragraph 5.

5. The Security Council should be empowered, at any stage of a dispute of the nature referred to in paragraph 3 above, to recommend appropriate procedures or methods of adjustment.

6. Justiciable disputes should normally be referred to the international court of justice. The Security Council should be empowered to refer to the court, for advice, legal questions connected with other disputes.

7. The provisions of paragraph 1 to 6 of Section A should not apply to situations or disputes arising out of matters which by international law are solely within the domestic jurisdiction of the state concerned.

SECTION B. DETERMINATION OF THREATS TO THE PEACE OR ACTS OF AGGRESSION AND ACTION WITH RESPECT THERETO. 1. Should the Security Council deem that a failure to settle a dispute in accordance

with procedures indicated in paragraph 3 of Section A, or in accordance with its recommendations made under paragraph 5 of Section A, constitutes a threat to the maintenance of international peace and security, it should take any measures necessary for the maintenance of international peace and security in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Organization.

2. In general the Security Council should determine the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace or act of aggression and should make recommendations or decide upon the measures to be taken to maintain or restore peace and security.

3. The Security Council should be empowered to determine what diplomatic, economic, or other measures not involving the use of armed force should be employed to give effect to its decisions, and to call upon members of the Organization to apply such measures. Such measures may include complete or partial interruption of rail, sea, air, postal, telegraphic, radio and other means of communication and the severance of diplomatic and economic relations.

4. Should the Security Council consider such measures to be inadequate, it should be empowered to take such action by air, naval or land forces as may be necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security. Such action may include demonstrations, blockade and other operations by air, sea or land forces of members of the Organization.

5. In order that all members of the Organization should contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security, they should undertake to make available to the Security Council, on its call and in accordance with a special agreement or agreements concluded among themselves, armed forces, facilities and assistance necessary for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security. Such agreement or agreements should govern the numbers and types of forces and the nature of the facilities and assistance to be provided. The special agreement or agreements should be negotiated as soon as possible and should in each case be subject to approval by the Security Council and to ratification by the signatory states in accordance with their constitutional processes.

6. In order to enable urgent military measures to be taken by the Organization there should be held immediately available by the members of the Organization national air force contingents for combined international enforcement action. The strength and degree of readiness of these contingents and plans for their combined action should be determined by the Security Council with the assistance of



the Military Staff Committee within the limits laid down in the special agreement or agreements referred to in paragraph 5 above.

7. The action required to carry out the decisions of the Security Council for the maintenance of international peace and security should be taken by all the members of the Organization in cooperation or by some of them as the Security Council may determine. This undertaking should be carried out by the members of the Organization by their own action and through action of the appropriate specialized organizations and agencies of which they are members.

8. Plans for the application of armed force should be made by the Security Council with the assistance of the Military Staff Committee referred to in paragraph 9 below.

9. There should be established a Military Staff Committee the functions of which should be to advise and assist the Security Council on all questions relating to the Security Council's military requirements for the maintenance of international peace and security, to the employment and command of forces placed at its disposal, to the regulation of armaments, and to possible disarmament. It should be responsible under the Security Council for the strategic direction of any armed forces placed at the disposal of the Security Council. The Committee should be composed of the Chiefs of Staff of the permanent members of the Security Council or their representatives. Any member of the Organization not permanently represented on the Committee should be invited by the Committee to be associated with it when the efficient discharge of the Committee's responsibilities requires that such a state should participate in its work. Questions of command of forces should be worked out subsequently.

10. The members of the Organization should join in affording mutual assistance in carrying out the measures decided upon by the Security Council.

11. Any state, whether a member of the Organization or not, which finds itself confronted with special economic problems arising from the carrying out of measures which have been decided upon by the Security Council should have the right to consult the Security Council in regard to a solution of those problems.

SECTION C. REGIONAL ARRANGEMENTS. 1. Nothing in the Charter should preclude the existence of regional arrangements or agencies for dealing with such matters relating to the maintenance of international peace and security as are appropriate for regional action, provided such arrangements or agencies and their activities are consistent with the purposes and principles of the Organization. The

Security Council should encourage settlement of local disputes through such regional arrangements or by such regional agencies, either on the initiative of the states concerned or by reference from the Security Council.

2. The Security Council should, where appropriate, utilize such arrangements or agencies for enforcement action under its authority, but no enforcement action should be taken under regional arrangements or by regional agencies without the authorization of the Security Council.

3. The Security Council should at all times be kept fully informed of activities undertaken or in contemplation under regional arrangements or by regional agencies for the maintenance of international peace and security.

## *Chapter IX. Arrangements for International Economic and Social Cooperation*

SECTION A. PURPOSE AND RELATIONSHIPS. 1. With a view to the creation of conditions of stability and well-being which are necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations, the Organization should facilitate solutions of international economic, social and other humanitarian problems and promote respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. Responsibility for the discharge of this function should be vested in the General Assembly and, under the authority of the General Assembly, in an Economic and Social Council.

2. The various specialized economic, social and other organizations and agencies would have responsibilities in their respective fields as defined in their statutes. Each such organization or agency should be brought into relationship with the Organization on terms to be determined by agreement between the Economic and Social Council and the appropriate authorities of the specialized organization or agency, subject to approval by the General Assembly.

SECTION B. COMPOSITION AND VOTING. The Economic and Social Council should consist of representatives of eighteen members of the Organization. The states to be represented for this purpose should be elected by the General Assembly for terms of three years. Each such state should have one representative, who should have one vote. Decisions of the Economic and Social Council should be taken by simple majority vote of those present and voting.

SECTION C. FUNCTIONS AND POWERS OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL. 1. The Economic and Social Council should be empowered:

- a. to carry out, within the scope of its functions, recommendations of the General Assembly;

- b. to make recommendations, on its own initiative, with respect to international economic, social and other humanitarian matters;
- c. to receive and consider reports from the economic, social and other organizations or agencies brought into relationship with the Organization, and to coordinate their activities through consultations with, and recommendations to, such organizations or agencies;
- d. to examine the administrative budgets of such specialized organizations or agencies with a view to making recommendations to the organizations or agencies concerned;
- e. to enable the Secretary-General to provide information to the Security Council;
- f. to assist the Security Council upon its request; and
- g. to perform such other functions within the general scope of its competence as may be assigned to it by the General Assembly.

SECTION D. ORGANIZATION AND PROCEDURE. 1. The Economic and Social Council should set up an economic commission, a social commission, and such other commissions as may be required. These commissions should consist of experts. There should be a permanent staff which should constitute a part of the Secretariat of the Organization.

2. The Economic and Social Council should make suitable arrangements for representatives of the specialized organizations or agencies to participate without vote in its deliberations and in those of the commissions established by it.

3. The Economic and Social Council should adopt its own rules of procedure and the method of selecting its President.

#### *Chapter X. The Secretariat*

1. There should be a Secretariat comprising a Secretary-General and such staff as may be required. The Secretary-General should be the chief administrative officer of the Organization. He should be elected by the General Assembly, on recommendation of the Security Council, for such term and under such conditions as are specified in the Charter.

2. The Secretary-General should act in that capacity in all meetings of the General Assembly, of

the Security Council, and of the Economic and Social Council and should make an annual report to the General Assembly on the work of the Organization.

3. The Secretary-General should have the right to bring to the attention of the Security Council any matter which in his opinion may threaten international peace and security.

#### *Chapter XI. Amendments*

Amendments should come into force for all members of the Organization, when they have been adopted by a vote of two-thirds of the members of the General Assembly and ratified in accordance with their respective constitutional processes by the members of the Organization having permanent membership on the Security Council and by a majority of the other members of the Organization.

#### *Chapter XII. Transitional Arrangements*

1. Pending the coming into force of the special agreement or agreements referred to in Chapter VIII, Section B, paragraph 5, and in accordance with the provisions of paragraph 5 of the Four-Nation Declaration, signed at Moscow, October 30, 1943, the states parties to that Declaration should consult with one another and as occasion arises with other members of the Organization with a view to such joint action on behalf of the Organization as may be necessary for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security.

2. No provision of the Charter should preclude action taken or authorized in relation to enemy states as a result of the present war by the Government having responsibility for such action.

#### *Note*

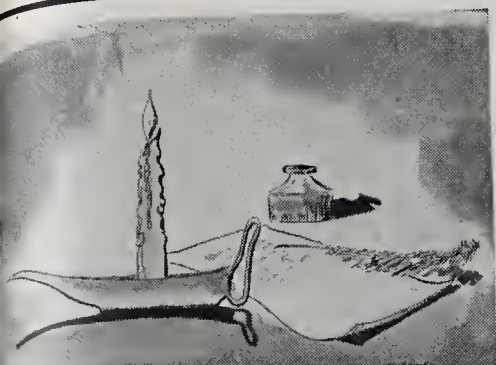
In addition to the question of voting procedure in the Security Council referred to in Chapter VI, several other questions are still under consideration.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

October 7, 1944 [Released October 9, 1944]



## They Say . . .



### Compulsory Military Training

To the Editor:

I wish to express my full agreement with the contents of the article written by Donald A. Stauffer in the Spring issue of THE KEY REPORTER [Vol. XI, No. 2] on compulsory military training. I see that he, both as educator and soldier (anyone who has served his country in "this" war may well be proud of the term "soldier"), approves of compulsory military training. It is a sorry state of affairs, indeed, if young men, for the sake of "college careers" and getting their degrees at the age of 22 or 23 instead of at 24 or 25 are unwilling to devote one year (or whatever period of training is necessary) of their lives to the safety of their homeland and the safety of their own lives perhaps ten or 15 years hence. (You will find that few of us who have served in this war are doing any "beefing" because we lost out time in getting our Ph.D.'s.)

I wish particularly to commend Dr. Stauffer for pointing out that "lack of training" — not its opposite — was responsible for the duration of this war. The next war — if there be one — may not afford us the years of preparation we had this time (the two and one-half years from December 1941 to June 1944), by an enemy being heavily engaged at war with someone else. We all know that it is much easier for armchair military strategists and newspaper "diplomats" to dwell in the realm of fancy than it is to wrestle with the realities of everyday life. History has taught us that very frequently the scribes and "know-it-alls" who had opposed long-range military planning are later the very ones to attack our responsible military leaders for lack of "foresight" and "neglect of duty."

I have myself served in this war in Europe as an officer since the fall of 1942 and am now "following through" in the military government phase for a while. I doubt whether any reasonable person would accuse those of us who have seen our fellow countrymen slaughtered in battle and innocent populations subjected to the ravages of war, of desiring war and militarism. Because of our variously bitter experiences, I know that all soldiers are devout pacifists (i.e., want to see peace maintained) and, as pacifists, are eager to see our country kept from having to fight another war. Military strength only — the world being what it is and not what we'd like it to be — can give us the best assurance of that.

It is gratifying to see a man in the field of scholarship so fully aware of the crude realities of life. Unfortunately too few of his colleagues' experiences extend beyond the classroom and the campus.

ALBERT NORMAN, CAPTAIN, AUS  
BERLIN, GERMANY

### Phi Beta Kappa and Segregated Education

To the Editor:

I have been interested in the proposal that Phi Beta Kappa chapters should no longer be established in schools that exclude Negroes [THE KEY REPORTER, Vol. X, No. 4].

I grew up in Virginia, but for the past eight years have lived most of the time in northern college communities. I suppose I come as close as anyone can to understanding the viewpoint of both the average Southerner and the northern liberal. If I felt that this form of pressure would produce any good results — that it would open the doors of southern colleges and universities to Negroes — I would be all for it. I am pretty certain, however, that the effects would be of another kind. Phi Beta Kappa is not powerful enough to alter the long-established policy of separate schools in the South. Withdrawing the chapters would merely provide the Talmadges and Bilbos with material for demagogic ranting against the North, and would make it that much harder for southern liberals like Governor Arnall of Georgia to accomplish anything. And the barring of further chapters would remove an influence which, in a quiet way, does a great deal to counteract the emotion-filled atmosphere of unreason and prejudice that prevails among too many Southerners.

Inevitably someone will draw an analogy between southern racialism and nazi racialism. I admit that there are points of resemblance, but I'd like to call attention to two things. In the first place, a policy of dramatic pinpricks directed against nazi Germany would have accomplished nothing. The only thing that could overcome nazi racialism was armed force, and the mistake of the democracies was waiting too long about going to war. In the second place, nazi racialism was a modern and dynamic development. It was on the march, and bade fair to conquer the world. Southern racialism is a heritage from the past — a very evil heritage, it is true, but it is not out to conquer the world. It is on the defensive. Improvement in racial relations in the South may seem very slow, but it exists. Lynchings are much less frequent than 20 years ago, and more money is being spent on Negro education. Informal cooperation between the races on a community level is more frequent than most people realize. I am not trying to paint any picture of utopia, but merely to suggest that a gradual amelioration is actually taking place.

The southern liberal has a difficult time, because his reactionary opponents are always ready to throw the Reconstruction period in his teeth. Sometimes northern liberals, in their zeal to aid their southern allies, provide the reactionaries with ammunition. I wish there were some way that northern liberals could help directly in the struggle for racial justice in the South, but I'm afraid the main battle must be fought by the men on the spot.

I have never believed that racial prejudice is due solely to economic conditions, but it is obvious that an increased standard of living can help reduce racial tension in the South. The competition between the races will be less fierce, and more money will be available for education. Perhaps the most helpful thing Northerners can do is support any measure desired to raise the South's standard of living, such as the TVA and the equalization of freight rates.

CHAD WALSH  
BELOIT, WISCONSIN

To the Editor:

With all due respect to Dr. Henry E. Garrett's eminence in the academic world, I think that many reputable psychologists would take exception to his position on the question of racial differences in mental ability, expressed in a recent letter to your journal [THE KEY REPORTER, Vol. XI, No. 3].

Dr. Garrett states that the most cogent argument presented by advocates, as he calls them, of no race differences is that such differences as are found on mental tests, etc., can be, he says, "conceivably" attributed to differences in environmental opportunity.

It is my opinion that the weight of the experimental evidence is that such differences as are found are most probably, and not only conceivably, due to environmental factors. For example, Army Alpha tests of recruits in the last war showed northern Negroes superior to southern whites, yet southern whites superior to southern Negroes. Here, certainly, environmental and not racial factors are operating. A racial interpretation here would lead to contradictory conclusions.

Other tests showed a definite improvement in the scores of southern Negro children who came to the North to go to school, directly related to the length of time they had lived in the northern environment. Insofar as we can ever be certain of anything in the social sciences, surely we can agree with Dr. Otto Klineberg that "it seems highly probable, if not certain, that with complete environmental equality the present difference between Negroes and whites would entirely disappear" (*Social Psychology*, Henry Holt and Company, p. 301).

As Dr. Klineberg points out (p. 302), there is no indication whatever of any genetic relationship between race or physical type and level of intelligence. One test showed that medical differentiation of Negro and white brains is an impossible task. There seems no reason to doubt that such differences of performance on mental tests as are found between Negro and white groups are due solely to environmental and cultural factors, and not to inherent racial difference in mental capacity or ability.

Furthermore, the question of Negro-white difference in mental ability is highly relevant to the issue of educational discrimination, if merely for the reason that such supposed difference is used by many persons, who do not share Dr. Garrett's "policy of tolerance," to justify discrimination.

Intervention of Phi Beta Kappa in an effort to secure educational equality for the Negro in the South would not, if United States Army experience in this war is any criterion, produce the unfortunate effects that Dr. Garrett foresees.

Close contact between Negro and white soldiers broke down previously existing race prejudice, an article in the November, 1945, issue of the *Race Relation Bulletin* of Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee, points out. Army Research officers found that serving in a mixed company of Negro and white platoons improved feeling of the white officers and non-coms towards the Negro soldiers in 77 per cent of the cases, with no replies indicating a less favorable attitude.

A cross section of white infantrymen showed that willingness to accept Negroes on an unsegregated basis varied directly with the amount of experience the troops interviewed

(Continued on page 7)



## The Yiddish Barrie

THE OLD COUNTRY. By Sholom Aleichem. New York: Crown Publishers. \$3.

Sholom Aleichem — the words, by the way, are not a name, but a greeting, the *nom de plume* of Solomon Rabinowitch — has been described as the Yiddish Mark Twain, but the 27 stories in this volume, the first of his work to be translated into English, resemble less anything of Mark Twain's than the *Auld Licht Idylls* of Gerald W. J. M. Barrie.

To be sure, Kasrilevka is not another Drumtochty, but a village in the Ukraine, and its idiom is Yiddish, not Scottish; but it, too, is a corner of the earth almost passed by and untouched by the hustle and bustle of the great world; it, too, is inhabited by "little people" whose religion is not so much an obsession as the very warp and woof of their lives; and it, too, is seen through the kindly eyes of a native whom experience has taught to appreciate at once the absurdity and the astonishing strength of these people. Some of the Jewish stories bite deeper than anything in the Scottish book, but they are essentially of the same kind. "Modern Children," for example, is a different version of the wonderful tale of how T'nowhead's Belle was wooed and won and lost again; and many of the pillars of the synagogue are remarkably like the pillars of the kirk.

All of which means, of course, that Sholom Aleichem has achieved the goal of every competent story-teller — he writes about humanity. The fact that his specimens happen to be Jews in the Ukraine is a detail; they might be Presbyterians in Scotland, or Baptists in Missouri without changing anything more than their speech, their clothes and their stage-setting. In the essentials they are merely human beings — usually foolish, usually feeble, usually ridiculous, but occasionally magnificent, like humanity everywhere.

The translators, Julius and Frances Butwin, assert in a foreword that Sholom Aleichem's full flavor is simply not to be transferred to another language because much of it depends upon the very spirit of his native tongue. One can easily believe it; but at least they have conveyed the idea that here is a highly

individual genius, one whose laughter is all the more infectious for being mingled with tenderness and pity. Sentimental? Oh, extremely so; but such a story as "Hodel" is almost a perfect example of how to be highly sentimental without being mawkish. The assertion on the jacket that this is, if not the greatest, certainly the best loved of modern Jewish writers is a good deal more plausible than most publishers' blurbs.



## Recommended Reading

THE SCARLET TREE. By Sir Osbert Sitwell. Boston: Little, Brown. \$3.50.

Memoirs of a boyhood in Victorian and Edwardian England.

WIND IN THE OLIVE TREES. By Abel Plenn. New York: Boni and Gaer. \$3.

Spain under Franco, told by the former chief of propaganda analysis, attached to the United States Embassy in Madrid.

THE ROOTS OF AMERICAN LOYALTY. By Merle Curti. New York: Columbia University Press. \$3.

American patriotism analyzed by a 1943 Pulitzer Prize winner.

THE WILSON ERA. By Josephus Daniels. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. \$4.

The former secretary of the navy's personal narrative of the closing years of Wilson's life.

THEN AND NOW. By Somerset Maugham. New York: Doubleday. \$2.50.

A historical novel of the Italian Renaissance, featuring Machiavelli and Caesar Borgia as the leading characters.

THE AMERICAN. By Howard Fast. New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce. \$3.

The story of John Peter Altgeld, the governor of Illinois who pardoned the men held responsible for the Haymarket Riots.

THE ABSOLUTE WEAPON. Edited by Bernard Brodie. New York: Harcourt, Brace. \$2.

A symposium on the military importance of the atomic bomb, its political threat in international affairs, and measures for its control.

WE HAPPY FEW. By Helen Howe. New York: Simon and Schuster. \$2.75.

A humorous satire of a New Englander and the circle over which she rules.

RUSSIA ON THE WAY. By Harrison Salisbury. New York: Macmillan. \$3.50.

The former chief of the United Press Bureau in Russia analyzes the bases for Russo-American cooperation.

APES, GIANTS AND MAN. By Franz Weidenreich. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. \$2.50.

Man's evolution from his anthropoid ancestors, written by a world-famous anthropologist who evaluates many theories of man's past in the light of present knowledge.

BRITANNIA MEWS. By Margery Sharp. Boston: Little, Brown. \$2.75.

The author of *Cluny Brown* writes of an aristocrat who goes to live in a Victorian slum.

CHINA AND AMERICA. By Foster Rhea Dulles. Princeton: Princeton University Press. \$2.75.

A history of Chinese-American economic and political relations.

COMPANIONS OF THE LEFT HAND. By George Tabori. Boston: Houghton Mifflin. \$2.75.

A novel of a middle-aged Viennese playwright who reluctantly participates in a revolution in an Adriatic resort.

CARIBBEAN, SEA OF THE NEW WORLD. By German Arciniegas. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. \$3.75.

The Caribbean area treated as a locus of history.

MIDWEST AT NOON. By Graham Hutton. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. \$3.50.

Analysis of the history of the midwest and the mores and the mentality of its people.

LAST CHAPTER. By Ernie Pyle. New York: Henry Holt. \$2.50.

The last of the war correspondent's writings before his death on Ie Shima.

THE CONDEMNED PLAYGROUND. By Cyril Connolly. New York: Macmillan. \$2.75.

A collection of 37 literary and philosophical essays written by the editor of *Horizon*, the British literary magazine.

FOR ONE SWEET GRAPE. By Kate O'Brien. New York: Doubleday. \$2.75.

A historical novel involving Philip II of Spain, his minister of state, and Ana de Mendoza.

GERALD W. JOHNSON, historian and formerly an editorial writer for the *Baltimore Sun*, is now a free-lance newspaperman. He is the author of *Roosevelt: Dictator or Democrat?*, *American Heroes and Hero-Worship*, and *An Honorable Titan*, to be published in August by Harper and Brothers.



## The Future Can Be Ours

By WILLIAM AGAR

AMERICAN opinion has undergone a marked change since Pearl Harbor ended the illusion that isolation and appeasement would keep us out of war. There will undoubtedly be isolationists in the future, but the average American is now convinced that peace cannot be retained by refusing to fight, by neutrality laws or even by scrapping arms as long as nations that desire to make war exist in the world. Twice in twenty-five years the impact of world events has forced us to arm and fight. America is determined that this must not happen again. But how can it be avoided, what plan for the future should we accept? The war seems far away and unreal even today. Nevertheless there is a growing realization that difficult days lie ahead and some assurance is wanted that victory this time can be transformed into enduring peace.

All this lies back of the general demand for a more complete statement of war aims. So far, so good. But those who demand to know exactly what we are fighting for and what sort of a future we face, must first learn why we are fighting. Our war aims spring full-formed out of the nature of the war itself. But they cannot be perceived except by those who understand why the war happened. Thus we face a gigantic task in self-education; one which must be carried on now, during the stress and strain of war. The difficulty of the undertaking is all the greater because much of the teaching of the past twenty-five years must be unlearned. But the task has to be accomplished if we really want peace in the future. It is not a job for government agencies. It is truly a job of self-education which citizens have to undertake for themselves, education whose results will determine their future thoughts and actions and consequently the course that their government will follow.

Freedom House is founded on that belief. Its physical plant is a commodious building at 32 East 51 Street, New York City. It was started by a group of citizens who desired to employ every means at their command to place the truth before their fellows. They do not believe that Americans are apathetic. They know our people want to fight and that those who cannot fight are desperately anxious to help their country in some other way. But the founders of Freedom House believe that many Americans have misconstrued the nature of the war and the intentions of the enemy; that they regard our

involvement in war as an unfortunate incident unrelated to the general world situation. They do not know why we are in it. They do not realize that we can be attacked, or that we can lose. Few realize what losing would mean. As long as that is true, until we understand that our ultimate involvement was certain from the beginning, that we are as inextricably a part of the world scene as is Germany herself, there remains the danger that we may make a premature peace and give the enemies of mankind the time they need to prepare for our total destruction. We have no right to expect assurance that a better world will follow automatically when we are victorious. Rather we must realize that total victory is essential before we can have any world at all.

The actions of our enemies are sufficient proof that Hitler spoke correctly when he said two worlds are opposed and only one can endure. With all its imperfections, in spite of its frequent derelictions of duty, our world adheres to fundamental truths. It admits the validity of certain rules derived from the Hebrew-Christian tradition, rules which the majority respects and tries to live by. It recognizes the value of the individual. It places freedom at the top of the hierarchy of values because the denial of freedom negates all the others. No one pretends that our world has succeeded in living up to those ideals in full. But, steeped in sin as it is, our world has never lost sight of its goal. If Hitler's world was the same *kind* of a world, if it believed in the same rules as we do but was just a little less inclined to live by them than we are, a compromise would be possible. But Hitler's world is not in any sense a less honest, more self-seeking part of our own well-intentioned but weak and frequently disordered society. It has not abrogated the rules temporarily. It states very frankly that the rules are wrong. It regards freedom and democracy as illusions, kindness as another name for weakness, the brotherhood of man as a silly mistake. It claims total ownership of the body and soul of every individual and makes itself the supreme arbiter of right and wrong. It dazzles its people with a vision of future riches based on plunder from all the world and supported by the slave labor of lesser men everywhere. It recognizes no right but force.

The Axis leaders understand that the "New Order" cannot endure, even if they succeed in imposing it by force, as long as the fundamental sanc-



tions for freedom and democracy remain alive in men's hearts. So they devised their attack on society in such a way as to abolish those sanctions. Children are taken from home early in their lives and educated in nazi methods without any opportunity to know God or to learn of the existence of a moral law. Adults are surrounded with regulations rendering the practice of religion increasingly difficult. Apostasy is made financially profitable. The nazis do not preach atheism. They are too wise for that. They offer a substitute for religion in the form of a new idolatry, state pantheism, so mingled with ancient German pagan myths as to make dissenters appear to betray the fatherland. They devise methods of torture for both Jews and Christians designed to degrade them physically and mentally and blot out every vestige of respect for human personality. That is the New Order, barbaric and cruel.

America is the richest and most tempting morsel in the world which those war-makers set out to plunder. It is also the part most devoted to the ideal of liberty. Axis propaganda has long been at work on us seeking to turn Jew against Gentile, Protestant against Catholic, capital against labor with an insulting assurance that it could divide and conquer us without shedding a drop of German blood in actual combat. Plans were also made to strangle us economically, occupy us if need be after we were weakened and make us an appendage of the Axis. Our enemies have been aware far longer than we have that the world of the future cannot be half free and half slave. They know they have to break us or give up their dream of world domination. We cannot compromise with them.

What more do we require for a war aim? Why should we search for a new idea when we possess a vision that is eternally young? While still in the throes of birth, America proclaimed freedom and equality for all men. Of course, we never made it fully true even at home. Political democracy we have had, but never social or economic democracy. Now an implacable enemy declares that most men are destined to be slaves and that he intends to make them so. No compromise is possible. The time is at hand to redeem our promise or to give it up for good.

Our world has shrunk. We, more than any other people, are responsible for the technological advances which caused it to shrink. We had better accept the fact and act accordingly. As communication became more rapid and the interchange of ideas more general, we gradually realized that science, art, literature, the results of progress in technology and, to a lesser degree, the fundamentals of religion and ethics are international. They belong to all men.

But political thinking is still confined by national boundaries and remains the handmaiden of narrow economic policies. Selfish nationalism interferes with the understanding between peoples and prevents the distribution of the earth's produce to many who need it. That is our challenge; the future can be ours only if we raise our political thinking onto a high, international plane. The best interests of all men should be the touchstone of our future policies.

The present struggle has ignored national boundaries to a large extent because it is a clash between elemental ideas just as truly as it is a clash of arms. People who believe in part of the nazi creed are not all under the banner of the Axis. They exist in every country to confuse the issue. When the outlines of the opposing forces are fuzzy, it is usually because of such men in the midst of the people fighting for freedom. The belief, for example, that men *are* equal and must be treated as equals is the foundation of our Western world. Yet racial arrogance is commonplace among us. Many, ostensibly on our side, despise all men with colored skins. Consequently, the people of India, Malaya, much of Africa and Latin America, as well as the Negroes in North America, are only half-heartedly on our side, and Burma chose the Japanese. It is not because they like the Axis. It is because they have as yet no reason to trust us. They are tired of our promises. If we give them a reason to believe in us, if our world dares be true to itself, makes it clear that white imperialism is finished forever and that the myth of racial superiority is erased from its mind, those particular fuzzy edges will spring into sharp focus. The lines will be clearly drawn and people the world over will know who is fighting for what. Only that kind of brave thinking and unselfish action can save us.

As it is, we are suffering the consequences of prolonged dishonesty. If we had remained true to our ideals, men would not have needed to question our values. Unfortunately, we have given lip service to ideals we did not believe it was expedient to practice—they were too disturbing to cautious and practical men. Then too, our world has done considerable plundering in its own right, misdeeds which it hid under the cloak of necessity or sanctimonious phrases such as "The White Man's Burden." Inevitably men questioned the intentions of such a society, became increasingly sceptical of its values, and finally began to look elsewhere for rights too long deferred. To make matters worse, secularization proceeded to the point where society questioned its own spiritual foundations and left itself without an aim or a goal. Belief in man, his destiny,



his progress largely superseded belief in God. But, as is always true, men went on asking "What destiny?" "Progress towards what?" The answer they received was the Total State. Man, forgetting God, summoned up Leviathan, the Apocalyptic Beast from the Abyss, the secular, absolute world order destined to destroy him unless he rejects it from the depths of his soul.

The ordinary man knows little of philosophy or theology, yet he senses with unerring realism that the universe he lives in needs more than material sanctions to make enduring sense, and that man, when he worships his own reason has succumbed to the ultimate idolatry. He is not satisfied for more than brief periods with answers to the fundamental problems of life and being, of right and wrong, that begin and end with himself. History unfolds according to a logical plan. The logic of the present (in purely material terms) is that our civilization shall be destroyed, corrupted by the beast it created. But free men do not quail before such logic. They assert their freedom of choice and, to a large degree, mold the future. They know civilization is entering a period of change and that many errors of the past must be corrected. But they do not intend to let the enemy do the changing for them. The real defeatists are religious men who claim that we are too far gone to save ourselves, too sinful to recover;

or determinists who conjure up dimly perceived historic cycles to prove that our course is run. Their intentions are not evil. They are wise and cautious. But they are tired of the struggle. So they ask us to commit suicide. We have only one answer to give them. We believe in ourselves and in the eternal value of freedom. We *know* that the democratic is the best way because it liberates man from bondage to force and makes him responsible for his actions. It is not the easy way. Its price is unending struggle. But it is worth every effort, every sacrifice. Fired by that certainty, we can commence to live it here and help open the gates of freedom to all who wish to share it.

Freedom House is a place where all who believe in the democratic way can meet to discuss their problems. It acknowledges no distinctions of race, creed or color. It exists in order to break down the barriers that keep men apart and to elevate political thinking above the horizon of narrow regionalism to the level from which it can see man as a whole. Its demands are few but fundamental; tolerance, belief in the inviolability of the individual and the brotherhood of all men, willingness to make every sacrifice required to win the fight for freedom. It believes that the cumulative impact of these ideas taken up by a sufficient number of people can determine the course of the future.





August 19, 1942

Address  
by  
Lieutenant Commander Herbert Agar

To Members of Freedom House on the occasion of his  
departure for active duty with the U. S. Navy:

I am not going to make any kind of a speech tonight. I want to talk to you, tell you some of our problems, some of the things we are doing, where I think we are at this moment and where I think we have a deep obligation to go.

What is Freedom House? I think you know because all of us here are parts of it. Together we have helped to make it a communal enterprise. Freedom House is a set of ideas, and it is a spirit. It is a set of dogmatic assertions about the nature of man and man's relation to his fellow man. Without that there could be nothing.

Those of us who have been making Freedom House have felt from the beginning only one thing, that there was a deep necessity of getting these ideas about the nature of man and his relations to his fellow man to the largest possible public. If we failed in that, we would fail in everything because, if we failed in that, this war would be as much of a bust as the last war was in terms of making a world which is fit for us to leave to our descendants.

I have been trying to think about a way of putting very briefly, the essence of this idea, this point of view which we are struggling to dramatize, I have been searching for a word which would sink in deeper into our own hearts and minds so that we could carry it to larger and larger groups of our neighbors. I have concluded that the word, the only word--if there is one word that is at all adequate to the occasion--is the word "equality."

Of all the great words in the background of our national tradition, in the background of the traditions of all the free peoples in the modern world, that word "equality" is most often used. But of all the words, I think it is the least often defined because it brings us up against such awkward problems. But unless we are willing to face awkward problems at this time in human history and solve them, our only alternative is to lie down in the ditch and let the panzer divisions have their will with us.

The very awkward problems that are raised by the word "equality" are that, if we intend to take it seriously, it will change the tone of our lives necessarily and forever. If we do not intend to take it seriously, we haven't any tradition to boast about, we haven't anything to fight for. If this is so why take the trouble to beat our enemies? It is a definitely dangerous word in that sense and I want to talk briefly about that dangerous word.

I am sure that everybody who believes in the concept of equality will put it in his own different terms. I can only try to put it in mine. I don't think there





is any way of bringing the word "equality" to life as anything except a politician's word, or a patriotic occasion word unless you can explain in what terms you mean equality. There has to be an equality in something. It is perfectly obvious that peoples' physical equipment and peoples' intellectual equipment, as they are born into this world, are not equal.

It is perfectly obvious to those of us who believe in our Western civilization and our American tradition that there is some sense far more important than our physique or our intellectual quickness in which we are equal, and that that sense dominates the meaning of man's life. To put it in shorthand, to put it as briefly as possible, I would suggest that you can say we are equal in God. That is, we are equal in the sense that we are all representatives here of something which is far more important than any of us.

I would say we can go on from that to say as Saint Exupery said in his book, that we are all ambassadors from God here on earth. I know no other way of making briefly clear what I mean by the necessity of changing the tone of our lives in order to live up to this tradition, than by saying that we are all ambassadors from the same God here on earth.

As Saint Exupery wrote: "You do not maltreat and you do not condemn and you do not make fun of an ambassador." He may not be the particular person that you would have chosen to be the ambassador. He may come in a shape or a color or a size that you don't particularly admire, but if he is an ambassador, you respect him and if we can think of our neighbors as ambassadors here on earth, of God, or of the principle which makes for goodness and decency and a world which we can understand, a world in which there is clear good and evil, if we think of our neighbors in those terms, I think we can read definite meaning into this word "equality."

If we do not read meaning into it, I don't think we are going to win the war, or if we do win the war, I do not think it is going to make a bean's worth of difference. Because this war is a world revolt caused by our failure to live up to our tradition. If we should win on the field of battle alone, the revolt will go right on. The revolt began long before the war and it will go on until our civilization is destroyed or until our civilization justifies itself by living up to a majority of its own requirements.

I am not talking about a perfect world in which everybody always behaves perfectly. I am talking about the necessity, the minimum necessity, for survival. That is a world in which the majority of the citizens live up to the majority of its demands. Without that, no civilization can long endure.

The concept of equality, as I have tried to put it, is a concept which we in America certainly know a great deal about. I say, again to talk in shorthand--just mention the ideas of the American small town. In large parts of our country, over large periods of our history, if we put aside our own deepest sin, which is our sin toward the Negro, we have had a near approach to a society in which people treated their neighbors as genuine neighbors, in which there was a world where man was treated not according to the size of his income but because people had the feeling that men are men.





We have not got anywhere near doing that with the Negro. That doesn't need any more than stating among us, because we of Freedom House have fought that particular fight as hard as we could fight it, as well as we could fight it, and we all know where we stand on it...What more is there for us to do as members of Freedom House?

George Field and I went to Washington the other day and talked to Elmer Davis. He promised us that he would put somebody in his office on the job of culling out ideas to pass on to us from among all the thousands of suggestions that go in every week to the OWI. A large majority of them are things that neither we nor they can do anything about. A tiny fraction of one per cent are probably things that the OWI itself can do something about. Another function will be jobs which they think would be very good to do if some private organization can do them. These they will send to us.

It is likely that with our resources we will only be able to touch a very small fraction of the things sent to us. But, in that way, we will get a steady feeding into Freedom House of practical things to do, things that we may be able to go to people with and say, "Help us do this; help us do that; how can we do this one?; how can we do that one? That, I think, is again a hopeful note.

Then I want to suggest to you another kind of activity that you may be able to help us get into, namely the steady discussion of what we are going to do at the end of this war, in these practical terms. Every member of Freedom House, I am sure, is entirely in sympathy with such statements of our public policy after the war is over as Mr. Roosevelt's dynamic and extraordinary report, his fifth report on Lend Lease, which commits our country to the most absolute participation in world affairs on the most high-minded grounds that we have ever been committed to in our history. But we have been committed to some pretty good things in the past, and we know what we did about them. All we did about them was to ditch them!

Now we are committed to something very good and very important, under two main heads. It includes the thesis that we will never talk about cash when this war is over; that we are not going to commit the enormous crime of going to the Chinese and saying to the Chinese, "What is the cash value of the million Chinamen that were murdered by the scrap steel we sold to the Japanese in the days when we were playing a baby's game?"

What is the cash value of these Chinamen over and against the amount of goods that we have been able to smuggle into China? We are not going to play that game anywhere, ever, if we live up to the propositions which have been laid down by our Government.

In that same report, we are committed absolutely to creating a world economic system, which means a thorough-going revolution in ones habits. I want to ask you to consider this: It is all very well to say you believe in the four freedoms, and it is all very well to say you believe in Mr. Roosevelt's noble declarations in his fifth report on Lend Lease. What are you going to do about certain specific things?





Be very specific about it. How are you going to talk to your neighbors? How are you going to act in your own lives when it comes time to say that all this ersatz industry that we are building up during the war has got to be scrapped when the war is over if we are going to have any kind of a world economic system at all? What are we going to do about the rubber in the South Pacific as compared with the rubber factories, the synthetic rubber factories that we are building in our own country? What are we going to do about the tariffs in our country?

Are we going to begin yipping as soon as the war is over about the American standard of living and saying that the American standard of living will perish from the face of the earth if we begin to treat our neighbors as we are supposed to treat them according to the Declaration of Independence and the Gettysburg Address, and all the other fundamental documents in our national history? Are we going again to accept the thesis that if you behave decently towards your neighbors, you will suddenly find yourselves living on a bowl of rice and wearing a pair of cotton pants? Or are we going to admit that the evidence of history is totally against that theory and that the actual story is that if we don't treat our neighbors well, if we don't live up to the greatness of our civilization in terms of its moral affirmations, then we will find ourselves living on a bowl of rice and wearing cotton pants--if any--and we will find that because we will then necessarily revert to barbarism.

We will then necessarily have a world in which the revolution of our enemy succeeds and does not fail. Well, how are we going to behave about these things? How are you going to behave about it in terms of your own factories, in terms of your own jobs, in terms of your own local newspapers, in terms of your own local clubs, in terms of what you say to your neighbor?

Ladies and gentlemen, there is no sense in winning this war, there is no sense in taking the trouble to win it unless we are willing to change our habits of life, our habits of conduct, radically change them in directions which will make it possible for us to live up to some of these things that we are now boasting about and talking about.

There is something that Freedom House can do a great deal about. There is something that you all can do a great deal about in your private lives, in your daily relations with your neighbors, and there is something that you can all help us to do more and more about by producing for us ideas of how to get some of these perfectly simple, specific problems to a great many people.

There is no sense in talking about a world economic system unless you are willing to spend most of your time talking about what are we going to do with the rubber factories, what are we going to do with the shoe factories, how much tariff are we going to demand on this, that and the other thing, how are we going to behave in specific detail. If we are not willing to talk about that, I don't see why we are taking all this trouble that we seem to be embarked upon.

If we are willing to talk about that, then the winning of the war gives us the opportunity. This is the only thing that is ever worth winning a war for, the opportunity to make a good society. That is all you ever win when you win a war. You win the opportunity to make the institutions of the immediate future. If you are good people, the war was worth winning, no matter what the cost, because you can make good institutions and bequeath to your descendants a respectable world. If you





are bad people, the war isn't worth winning, no matter how easy it may have been, because all you can leave is another bloody mess for your descendants to fight over.

We must invent things together for our neighbors and ourselves to do. We must invent ways of starting the practical discussion concerning how we are going to behave in the future. Otherwise, we will find ourselves in exactly the mess that we have been trying to avoid, the mess that every member of Freedom House knows about or he wouldn't be a member of Freedom House.

We are going to find 1919 and 1920 repeated when this war comes to an end. The same old thing will happen again for exactly the same old reason. This won't be because men and women in this world do not want the best things; not because we haven't got a majority of the human race over the entire earth which if it is able to help itself and to get help from its neighbors, is willing to work hard and sacrifice for good things; not because life is necessarily bad or helpless or futile or defeated, but because the good people don't take as much trouble as the bad people. They never have taken as much trouble as the bad people in any period of history that I know anything about, but that isn't any reason why that should always be true.

There is no fate which determines that the good people have to be lazy and the bad people have to be active as rabbits. There is no possible reason why we shouldn't take the necessary trouble. If we do not take the necessary trouble, nothing is going to happen.

I would like to suggest as a kind of slogan, one which should be far more interesting to the American people than "Remember Pearl Harbor," which by the way I think is a horrible slogan. It isn't more interesting, but it ought to be. It is this: "Remember the Nineteenth of November, 1919." That is something which every American ought to carry in his mind, in his heart, forever. And on every 19th of November, from now to the end of time, we ought to run our flags at half-mast, because every American who is killed or wounded or whose heart is broken in this war, will be suffering because of the 19th of November, 1919, when the Senate of the United States finally voted down all participation on the part of the United States in the future of the human race.

Remember the 19th of November. What did we have on our side, we the decent people? We had the large majority of our American fellow citizens and we had the Government of the United States, the administration. What did we get? We didn't get anything. We got ruined and destroyed and we got what we have on our hands today. We were in the majority and the administration was on our side and it didn't make any difference, and the reason it didn't make any difference was that we, the majority, were amateurish, unable to get in touch with each other, unaware of how to take part in public life, spoiled children who had never realized that we have to work hard and work well if we are to have the privilege of a world fit for people to live in.

We were the majority and it didn't do us any good. We are going to be the majority again at the end of this war, and it may not do us any good either. We are going to have the administration on our side at the end of this war, and it may not do us any good either. This isn't something that the Government can do for us. The





Government couldn't do anything in 1918-1920 to save the world from ruin. There is no reason to think that the Government, with quotes around it, the "Government" in terms of the official administration can do anything when this war is over to save us from the same horrible disaster that we permitted ourselves to engage in the last time.

But we can do it, we, the citizens of America, can do it! We can do it any time we want to! We are in the majority and we are right and there is nothing to keep us from succeeding except our own sloth!

In conclusion, I'd like to ask just this one last question: If we don't do it, we, symbolized by the people here in this room, we and all people like us all over this country, if we don't do it, who is going to do it? Suppose we get tired and discouraged and let Freedom House disappear off the face of the earth; suppose we say that it is too much trouble in wartime, what then? Suppose we say that it isn't possible to give the necessary amount of effort, or the necessary amount of imagination--which is the most important thing, because this is an inventing job, an idea job more than anything else, what will happen? Suppose we say, "I can't give any of my spare time to it because I have to justify myself in my own conscience by giving all my time to a direct war effort--if we say these things, and if Freedom House disappears off the face of the earth, who is going to do the job that we can do?"

When this war is over, if we go ahead and work hard, we can have many hundreds of thousands of people in this country who have been in direct contact with one another over a period of time, who have learned to trust one another's motives and one another's lives and one another's methods of operating. Those people can win any campaign. A few hundred thousand people who know where they stand and who their friends are and who know how to get in touch with each other and get together can win any political campaign and impose their own will because they have earned the right to impose their will. They have done the work. They have taken the trouble. They represent, as no Government can ever represent, the American public, because they and their families and their friends and their associates and the people whom they reach, make up the American public.

If we do this we can give our enemies a run for their money this time! The last time they beat us with their left hands. It would be something at least to make them use both hands this time and it would be something still better to beat hell out of them--which we can do!





THE VOICE OF FREEDOM  
from  
Freedom House  
32 East 51st Street, N.Y.C.

Broadcast on Station WMCA  
August 26, 1942  
by  
William Agar

There are a number of things we Americans need to straighten out in our minds. We have been at war for some time. But, do we know what it is all about, what we want to get out of it? We want to defend ourselves. We want to prevent the Axis from dominating us. Sure. But it isn't as simple as that. We have a positive aim. We want to prevent this thing from happening again. We want to make--yes, I dare say it, even though America has smirked up its sleeve at the expression for years--we want to make the world safe for democracy. We want to make it safe for our families, for our children to go to school, for our young women to marry and raise families, for our young men to work without going to war every twenty years. We want that chance for ourselves and for others everywhere on earth.

I can hear a lot of people saying: "That's what we fought for last time and see what it got us." It is exactly what we fought for last time and our side won. And we got exactly what we deserved because all of us lacked the guts to carry through. We won a chance to do better and we threw the chance away. If we win this war that's all we'll win again--just a chance. The rest is up to us.

It seems to horrify some when we say we are fighting for these same opportunities for Chinamen and their children, for Russians, for British and for everyone else. Imperialism? Forcing our way of life on others? Rot! You can't force freedom on anyone. You can only do away with the gangsters who have captured him and give him a chance to be free. Tyranny cannot crop up anywhere in this world without drawing us all into war. It's happened twice in twenty-five years. It's been proved we can't be free to choose our own way of life without war unless all other men are free to do the same. And it doesn't matter what form of government they choose provided the people do the choosing. People don't choose to be slaves. Besides, a lot of us think Chinamen and other men have the same right to be free from domination by the Hitler-Hirohito combine as we have. It's a good thing to be fighting for them as well as for ourselves.

Let's not be afraid to admit we have ideals. We have fought in crusades before, and this is a crusade--a crusade for the human race, to which race, by the way, to the utter consternation of some Americans we have suddenly learned that we belong. Yes, we are fighting for the freedom of man here at home and the world over. Yet, do we know just what we mean by freedom? Freedom can't mean license for anyone to do anything he wants to do. That kind of laissez-faire, with the protection of the guilds removed, long ago plunged workers

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Copies of the Voice of Freedom are available at 10¢ each to cover the cost of handling and postage.

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA  
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
WASHINGTON, D. C.  
JANUARY 10, 1942  
MEMORANDUM

Reference is made to a number of letters and memoranda from the various offices of the Department of Justice, dated from December 1941 to January 1942, in which it is stated that the Department is of the opinion that the present situation in the United States is such that it is necessary to take certain steps to prevent the disclosure of information of a confidential nature to persons who are not entitled to know it. It is the opinion of the Department that the present situation is such that it is necessary to take certain steps to prevent the disclosure of information of a confidential nature to persons who are not entitled to know it.

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into economic slavery. It has left its mark upon us to this day. No, freedom can only mean the right of each man to live as he wishes within the fabric of laws which he has had a hand in making and which are based on truth and justice--laws which uphold the integrity of the individual because they recognize all men as brothers and as equals under God. Freedom must be based on something firm and stable or it degenerates into license, civil strife, then tyranny. It must always consider the equal rights of others.

But what do we mean by freedom in a practical way, here, in America? A little while ago, in one of the Women's Auxiliary Army Corp services, white and Negro girls were waiting in a room to be inducted. A sergeant came through and separated them. It was learned later that only six of the white girls had ever heard of such segregation. None wanted it. They expected to room with the Negroes. Yet, from that time on, though some had been friends in civilian life, they were allowed no more contacts. They had different barracks, different tables at mess. Is that freedom? If so, for whom? The white girls were forbidden under army discipline to enter the swimming pool while the Negro girls were there. "The only way to keep a man in a ditch," the old saying goes, "is to lie down in the ditch beside him." Restrict anyone's freedom and you restrict your own. These things hurt the Negro but they corrupt the whites. For we whites are the majority. We are responsible. Such discrimination is un-American, inhuman, un-Christian. We can never be free ourselves because we can never believe in ourselves while we permit it to go on.

Here's another case. A group of Chinese sailors were recently permitted to land on American soil without having some American friend post enormous bonds guaranteeing their good behavior and safe return and without having armed guards accompanying them. A glorious triumph for equality, was it not? China is our great Asiatic ally. We are willing to admit that if she should be defeated our cause is pretty nearly lost. Our spellbinding politicians will make lovely speeches about the glorious resistance of China at the drop of a hat. But, let them land here--that's a different matter. They're yellow and we are white. But it's been done now. They only gave their word of honor and they returned to the ship. As a matter of fact the word of honor of China was good while America was reneging on her own pledges after the last war. It was good when the Ohio gang was plundering our country. It was good before there was an America. Of course, there are bad Chinamen, bad Negroes, just as there are bad Americans, bad Englishmen, bad white or black or red men. We have got to learn to judge men by their actions, by the things they are fighting for today, not by their color or race.

Freedom, equality, justice, the brotherhood of men, all these mean something definite. They mean what they imply, or they mean nothing at all. If they don't mean anything the Nazis are right and the human race belongs to whoever is strong enough to capture it. It's high time, when we talk about these great ideals to understand





that we can no longer blow both hot and cold. We believe in them or we don't. We will give up the myth of racial superiority or we will end up fighting on the side of our present enemies. It's a world problem today. We win this war, black, and white, and yellow, and red fighting against the yellow Japs and the white Nazis and Fascists or we lose regardless of color or race. What we stand for is all that matters.

But, in this connection there is a serious problem that confronts us. How about India? If all our talk of freedom means anything, should we not demand that England free India at once? But what did we say that freedom meant--a chance to do anything one wants at any time? No. It means a chance to work out one's own destiny according to a recognized code and with due consideration for others. What chance has India with the panzers of Japan crouching on its borders? I would put the question this way. Should we insist now that the nation which all alone preserved man's chance to be free, while we in America were still cash and carrying, should that nation throw India to the enemy now and put all of the United Nations in greater danger than they already are? We have many people to think about, and India is the strategic key to the world today. We may easily lose India but we must not do so because of a false notion of freedom.

If a free India would fight at once with Britain and with the rest of us for the human race that would be one thing. If a free India would resort to civil war and thus open the gates to the enemy that is another. Those who say we dare not call this a people's war until India is free are mixing up their freedoms. They are thinking of license to do anything--even to destroy. It is true that a civil war is a peoples war, but I don't believe that's what they mean. So, let's listen to an Indian leader. On April 18, after Cripps' departure from India, Gandhi said: "Attainment of independence is an impossibility till we have solved the communal tangle. We will never solve the problem so long as either or both parties think that independence will or can come without any solution of the tangle." Does he believe that the Japanese will solve the tangle? They can, of course, in their own way--the same way their Nazi allies have solved what they call the Jewish problem and the Polish problem. At another time, very recently, Gandhi said: "Anarchy is the only way. Someone asked me if there would be anarchy after the British rule. Yes, it will be there. But I tell the British, give us chaos."

Perhaps we should, in ordinary times, give India over to chaos so that she could construct a stable government for herself out of the horrors of anarchy and civil war. But have we the right to permit chaos and civil war when it is sure to give India to the enemy and lessen the chances for all men to be free? The problem is much more complicated than many Americans appear to believe. Sixty million outcasts have struggled for years to free themselves from Hindu domination. They want just what the American Negro wants--not charity, but equality of opportunity. But they have never been listened to by the cast Hindus. Also, ninety million Moslems and other small minorities--

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more people than live on the North American continent--are fearful of the Hindu majority. Gandhi does not always speak for the oppressed. His demands for freedom now are demands for anarchy at a time when anarchy will wreck our world.

Britain has made many mistakes in India and we are all paying for them today. One mistake was that she never made a real promise to India before last spring. All the others were hedged about with ifs. But the promises are now made in the hearing of all the world. There is no going back on them when the war is won. But they can never be redeemed if the war is lost. India has the same right to be free as the rest of us. She has waited long. We ask now not for more patience but for responsible thinking and wise leadership. There are many true democrats in India. They must work with the British to save their people. For Japan can destroy India much more rapidly than British imperialism or even Hindu dictatorship.

This thing we call freedom carried with it responsibilities as well as privileges--duties as well as rights. We knew that once, then we forgot it. So we are at war again. This time, after victory, let's remember it. Then we shall have a chance to remain free.





THE VOICE OF FREEDOM  
from  
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by  
Fr. George B. Ford  
Catholic Chaplain, Columbia University

TWO OBSERVATIONS ON AMERICA AT WAR

It is a privilege to talk within or from FREEDOM HOUSE. This is a vital and creative center, - not yet a year old. It is presided over by the inspiring and forward looking leader Herbert Agar. Associated here is a group of citizens with widely differing backgrounds and interests. They are attempting to see and make known the larger, more important non-military needs of our country at war; to offer constructive suggestions and services; to apply the principles of this great democracy to their fullest realization for all its citizens; and to envision a cooperative world where permanent peace, justice, and the largest liberty will be made available to all peoples.

This evening I would like to make two observations that have relationship to the major events that are transpiring within our own nation and throughout the world in general. It is nearly a century and three quarters since our nation was founded. The democratic principles adopted by the founding fathers have never been abrogated nor their values seriously contested. One could say they have been refined and extended with the passing of time. All the generations before us have possessed and enjoyed them and at times fought for their retention and their transmission to their children. Yet it takes a world revolution, an universal clash of arms, the sacrifice of millions of human beings, among whom will be many of our fellow citizens, for us to understand in general and specifically what are the essential characteristics of a democratic society. Until recently, even now to a large number were one to put the question - WHAT ARE THE DISTINGUISHING MARKS AND REQUIREMENTS OF FREEDOM? not only the confused, but contradictory answers would be received. The present generation has come up through the schools of our country - all schools without exception - with a slight understanding, a superficial appreciation if any, if I may quote Walter Lippmann, of the very character of the society in which they live. It should hardly require a global holocaust to teach Americans the significance, the meaning, the necessity and the power of democracy. Not until millions are in slavery do we understand clearly and fully and by blackest contrast what it means to be a free people. Henceforth the upcoming generations in this nation must be taught definitely, explicitly, comparatively, and convincingly the characteristics of liberty, the essential principles upon which freedom rests, the rights and the responsibilities of every citizen as an inheritor and guardian of this most precious and irreplaceable possession. In a recent survey made by the New York Times it was discovered that while American history was available in our colleges, only an insignificant percentage of students elected to take it. The hills far away were more green. Other subjects, even historical subjects, were more attractive and presumably more valuable. Yet what values remain to you and to me economically, socially, politically, religiously, if we are not a free people. For the future in the field of education, primary, secondary, and

\*\*\* Copies of the Voice of Freedom are available at 10¢ each to cover the cost of handling and postage.





on higher levels, - no subject must be given greater insistence and more consistent attention than the story of the United States and what it means to be an american citizen and a democrat.

The second observation I would make this evening has some relationship to the foregoing, but is of such an extraordinary character as to stand out sharply and strongly by itself. A rather surprising, certainly a disturbing statement was made in Washington as recently as two weeks ago by a distinguished churchman. It was Archbishop Lucey of San Antonio, Texas, who is considered by many to be the most forthright, liberal minded member of the hierarchy of the Catholic Church in the United States. He was addressing a distinguished group of South Americans and their equally distinguished hosts who happen to be citizens of the United States. Together they form the Inter-American Seminar on Social Studies. The program and itinerary arranged during the few weeks that our friends from South America will be our guests, included visits to the larger cities of the country. From the travel and discussions they will have a cross section view and understanding of our social legislation, social accomplishments and activities, and the social needs of their neighbors of the northern hemisphere. As reported in the public press the Archbishop said among other things that the Catholic editors throughout the country had led or misled their hundreds of thousands of catholic readers into the Isolationist camp. It is obvious if that statement is true, and many of us are convinced that it is. that the editorial policy of most of the editors of catholic publications - weeklies and monthlies -, the ideas and attitudes of the editors themselves as expressed in their editorials, the substance and tone of pertinent articles selected for publication, the interpretation of tremendous world happenings, helped to form and determine the thought of millions of citizens regarding their attitude, their reactions, their convictions about the current world revolution from the standpoint of an american citizen and a Catholic. Undoubtedly the conclusions of that large body of citizens would parallel and agree substantially with the very recent statement of an able catholic editor who writes "if I had my way we should still be following the contract implicit in the Monroe Doctrine 'Let Europe keep out of America and America will keep out of Europe.' And this despite the fact that Germany was on its way over for quite a few years and Japan had already arrived.

For editors of religious publications and millions of christian peoples to accept the isolationist arguments and position seems like an inexplicable contradiction. For these editors and their catholic readers hold a very positive, consistent, logical, body of religious principles that are the very antithesis of any restricted or isolationist interpretation. For many of these accepted truths explicitly and all by implication stress the fact of the existence of one creative power, accept without question the belief that all things emanate from the one eternal source of life. That man the highest expression of the creative act acknowledges this common origin and of course pays tribute to that power and personality as the common Father of all mankind. And any random selection from the New Testament not only clearly manifests Christ's own attitude, His own spirit, but His many statements that evidence His abiding conviction in the reality of the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. Certainly these principles were basic to Christ as they are fundamental in his teachings. And in the long history of Christianity, the measure of a man's fidelity to the religion of Christ would be the degree that he expressed in word and in deed these realities of Fatherhood and brotherhood as applied to his fellow men and to all mankind without regard race, creed or color. No one would allow that these universal and divine truths have been cancelled by the passage of time. If they were true, they are true, and time cannot stale them. There is no evidence that they have either been revoked by divine mandate or the consent of mankind. So for religionists and Christians to interpret and apply these all inclusive beliefs as referring only to the United States and to those of american citizenship is a contradiction to explain which one is at a complete loss.





So when I know that millions are in slavery; compelled to endure forced labor in a strange land and under exacting and brutal taskmasters; when numberless people are withering in soul and in body in concentration camps; enduring physical and mental torture; transplanted in mass migrations; wrenched from loved ones; despairing, and dying and being killed and slaughtered; - how can I feel that it is no concern of mine, - that the call for mercy is not intended for american ears, that there is no responsibility for me, since they are not americans, to offer some ray of hope during the years and hours of blackest trial, - no requirement that I try by every means to get help to my suffering brothers and sisters in God. Where is my democracy that loves freedom for itself and wants it for all men; my humanity that makes me suffer when my brother is in want; my religion that cannot see a human need and pass by. Can it be that our love for America is so intense that it shrinks our understanding of the meaning of democracy and prevents our applying the truths of God beyond the boundries of our native land. Thus a concept like the Monroe Doctrine has priority over the universal truths of religion and intense nationalism or traditional hatreds for other peoples, black out the brotherhood of man.

Many of us Catholics have been ashamed, distressed and at times horrified by the written and spoken word of most of our catholic editors and some of our catholic leaders in their attitude toward the conflict across the seas and at home. Those of our leaders who may have believed differently maintained a strange silence. It is as heartening as it is magnanimous, as quoted in yesterday papers, to have a gracious spirit like Father Gannon, president of Fordham University, disavow the Isolationist view which he formerly and ardently held. May we Catholics never be second in our love for America and all she means to us and to the world. But may we too remember that "whosoever hath the sustenance of this world, and beholdeth his brother in need, and shutteth up his heart from him, how doth the love of God abide in him -- let us not love with word, neither with tongue, but in deed and truth.

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ADDRESS BY DR. HARRY GIDEONSE, PRES. OF BROOKLYN COLLEGE  
AND CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS, FREEDOM HOUSE  
SEPTEMBER 15, 1942, OVER CBS NETWORK

THE MORAL CHALLENGE OF POST-WAR PLANNING

Do you believe--as a New York editorial put it--that thinking about the post-war world and post-war planning is solemn guff by Professors on "How to cook your rabbit before you catch it"? Or do you agree with a Republican state platform in one of our Middle Western states, which I read last week, and which avoided all mention of post-war programs because the subject was declared to be premature until the war was over? Doesn't it seem strange that the same people who hold these views, refused to prepare for possible war until the war had come to us? And that these people have therefore apparently learned nothing from our recent experience about the need for preparedness, about the need for thinking through alternatives that may be open to us--or that may be forced upon us?

Our own history tells us that it is harder to prepare intelligently for peace than for war. This is no academic theory but a simple summary of our tragic national experience after the last war.

We managed to win the last war but in spite of the fact that we had a President and a majority in the Senate to back up our post-war plans of 1919, we lost the peace because a determined minority was better prepared for reaction and destruction than the majority which hadn't paid much attention to domestic politics while the war was being fought.

It is a false picture of history to think of winning the war as one chapter, and of winning the peace as another, quite distinct and separate. History is a seamless web--there are no separate and watertight compartments of time. War and peace are interwoven from peace to war, and back again from war to peace. Our lend-lease legislation and our draft legislation--passed before we were attacked--made us a more formidable adversary when the attack finally came than we would have been if we had not developed our industries to support our later allies at an earlier stage, and had we made no preparations in advance. In the same way, the things we do now, while at war, will help to determine the framework of the post-war settlement that will follow our victory.

The present grew out of the past--it cannot even be understood without studying the past. The future will grow out of the present--and we can help to determine the future by the direction we give to the present. If we refuse to give thought to the future which may grow out of our present--either because of ulterior motives of a political sort or because of a thoroughly understandable pre-occupation with the immediate challenge of the enormous peril in which we find ourselves--then we are really deciding in favor of another type of post-war planning. That is to say: We are then in fact planning to leave the





future to drift. Now drift has been tried in the past--and it has been found wanting. Drift has given us two world wars in twenty-five years. Drift will almost certainly repeat the pattern of the past--and a refusal to think about our long-run purposes is therefore really a proposal to have another world war when our present soldiers and sailors have sons old enough to be drafted.

It is true it may be politically dangerous for some people to discuss their post-war ideas--which is one reason why they would like to see all of us silent on the subject now. It is a far more important truth that it will be political dynamite for our entire civilization to trust to drift, ignoring all past experience.

There is an understandable reluctance to open up a chapter of discussion that is so full of sore memories of past disagreements and mistakes. It is tempting to assume that the "government"--who or whatever that may mean--is probably giving careful consideration to these things. The sober fact, however, is that the government, as a good democratic government, is extremely reluctant to "put its neck out" too far ahead of clearly expressed public opinion, and, secondly, that the government itself is far too busy with the process of streamlining our war effort.

It is furthermore historically clear that the people who are good at waging a war, are not necessarily as good at preparing a peace. Winston Churchill who speaks with considerable authority because of his vast experience in both wars and his participation in the last peace settlement, wrote after the last war that "those who can win a war well, can rarely make a good peace, and those who could make a good peace, would never have won the war."

My point is not that we should prepare blueprints now for the utopia to come. Far from it. The post-war world will not be utopian. I do not even believe that it will be very secure or stable. The most we can buy with a victory is the right to have something to say about the kind of a world we would like to see emerge in a period in which one world is dying and another is struggling to be born. If Hitler wins, that question will be answered by the Axis. If we win, the victory will not give us our kind of world. It will merely give us an opportunity--which we would not have in case of defeat--to work out our own destiny in a frank process of experimentation. It may well be one of the most dangerous temptations of the present to picture the future in rosy and optimistic terms. Such wishful thinking may simply promote the type of disillusioned "morning after" sentiment when it becomes clear that winning the war is merely the first--even if essential--step, and that winning the peace is not an easy road back to some familiar picture of the past but rather a challenging, difficult and morally exhausting process over the years that will follow the actual cessation of hostilities.

The strategy for winning the peace is not unlike the strategy for winning the war. It would be foolish for a general staff to prepare plans for just one kind of war. Whether the staff would ever be allowed to fight the war in that particular way, would depend on many factors, including the military skill and imagination of the enemy. A general





staff that is worth its salt will therefore make plans--and careful plans, painstaking in detail, anticipating all possible enemy reactions--for all the types of war that might conceivably arise.

Peace planning should proceed in the same manner, although this is apparently very hard to swallow for some groups. Such groups may have their minds all set on one pet idea, and they may be impatient with the idea of a careful study of alternative notions. The fact remains that the cessation of hostilities may find us with a set of facts that may make the originally attractive plan impossible, just as a war may start under circumstances that may make the theoretically most attractive plan for a military campaign obsolete. Under these circumstances--if our efforts in preparation and our public education have been devoted to a scheme that turned out to be impractical--we would be especially handicapped for a careful and thorough participation in an alternative scheme. Even from the standpoint of getting the pet idea translated into action, a preparation that considers alternatives might be desirable, for the very process of considering alternatives may increase the clarity of conviction with which the first idea will be pursued if it stands up well in comparison.

Now these are not problems for Washington, for some public official who is likely to be swamped with the detail of his own immediate job, and who, not infrequently, is likely to be profoundly impressed with the wisdom of "leaving well enough alone" when he is urged to get people interested in something that is not immediately on the agenda. In a dictatorship this would be a matter for the propaganda ministry. It would "cook up" the right idea, develop the radio and press "angles," and then "enlighten" the people. The Nazis and the Japanese are doing this now in behalf of their "New Order" and "Co-Prosperity" sphere. In a free society this initiative and momentum should arise in the discussion of war objectives among the people themselves. The emergency conditions of recent years have given us a tendency to lean too much on Washington. The best way to strengthen the old tradition of a spontaneous and self-reliant public opinion--which is, of course, the very core of the free and democratic society we are defending--is to preserve the process of free discussion in these matters.

Democracy is not first of all a matter of laws and governmental machinery. It is rather a matter of shared purpose, of a belief in the same fundamental ideas about fair and unfair, good and bad--in other words, it is a matter of acceptance of the same values. The new responsibilities of a shrinking world--a world of radio and air-planes--impose new burdens on our values. Our values have to grow, so to speak. They must carry a heavier load. They must bridge a wider gap than ever before. And in a sense the trouble with much of our discussion and thought about the war and its aftermath is precisely that we ignore this moral challenge and place almost all our stress on the military and economic, and technical aspects. It should be clear to anyone that military and economic policies are simply methods achieving certain purposes--they are not ends in themselves--and that these





purposes that are to be achieved, are really the heart of the matter. That is not only true at home, among ourselves. It is true abroad, in our relations with our allies--and in the effect of our policies upon our enemies.

No one who remembers the influence of Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points inside Germany, can deny that such a clarification of war aims can have the greatest possible military importance. Such an opportunity exists again this time--in some ways the ruthlessness of our enemies has increased their vulnerability in the war of propaganda. It is also true, however, that our record last time--I mean the manner in which we refused to back up Woodrow Wilson when the fighting had come to an end--has created a very great psychological handicap for our public spokesmen. People all over the world wonder whether we will treat Mr. Roosevelt as we treated Mr. Wilson--and they are inclined to accept our pronouncements at a heavy discount for this reason. We must convince the world, including our enemies, that we mean it this time, and that our governmental statements are not likely to be disavowed by an unsympathetic or uninformed public opinion. In other words, even from the standpoint of their immediate political and military effectiveness, our post-war program must have behind it a convincing measure of public endorsement, and this can only arise in a campaign of public discussion. We need such participation to develop the national purpose, to develop the moral "growing points," if you please, and to clarify all possible alternatives. We need it also to convince a world which remembers our performance last time, that there will not be another Harding administration. If and when we win the war, we'll probably win it by stages. There may be war in the Far East long after war may have ceased in Europe--and we will therefore of necessity be improvising peace settlements while we are still waging the war elsewhere. These improvisations will be the crucial process. They will set the pattern for the future. They will be based on such ideas and plans as then prevail. They will be based on such public agencies and policies as then exist. It's up to us now to see that they are right. If history is a seamless web, the future will be mortgaged then and there. It will be mortgaged in one part of the world, as we continue to wage the fight in another. There won't be any chance to re-weave the pattern in one place after we have finished the war in another. The pattern will be set in these day-to-day improvisations which will have created their own roots, their own vested interests, their own loyalties. We'd better see to it that our domestic political picture doesn't resemble the 1919 pattern of American politics too closely for the comfort of those who will have sons of draft age in 1960. In a democracy this is not a matter for specialists. They may know about the methods of achieving a common purpose when that common purpose clearly exists. The clarification of our purpose and the growth of public support behind it is a matter of the widest possible participation. The chief role of the technician--such as the diplomat, the international lawyer and the economist--is the elaboration of the purpose once it has been democratically adopted.





Freedom House is an agency for Americans who believe in the process of free and informed discussion during the war to preserve a free and democratic America during and after the war. We can only achieve that purpose if we give full recognition to the interdependence of a free America and a free world.

Freedom House in New York City is an American answer to the sinister Brown House in Munich that serves as a symbol and a home for the Nazi movement. Just as the Brown House is a symbol for tyranny towards outsiders and for goose-stepping party membership among insiders, so Freedom House is a symbol of the ideal of a free America in a free world. In the language of one of our radio programs, truth is our "secret weapon." We refuse to believe that a free America has to stoop to lying propaganda as an answer and a defense against the lying propaganda of our enemies. We refuse to believe that we must work up a hatred for our enemies to build a world according to our ideals. We are firm in the belief that a war fought from deep conviction anchored in truth and reason, is not only a more promising introduction to the post-war reconstruction that will follow the war, but also a war that will be harder to meet with the traditional weapons of the Axis. Goose-stepping, regimentation, propaganda, bloodlust and racial hatred are Nazi weapons--let us beware of a form of defeatism that tells us that we can only win this war by adopting our enemy's tactics and ideas. Let us beware above all of the type of surface patriot who would curtail all discussion of post-war plans during the war because it is supposed to create disunity. Such men overlook the new grip on a national conviction that comes with the clarification of our purposes. They may pose as realists but they are in fact advocates of war and post-war drift. This second world war is the bitter fruit of the activity of the immediate predecessors of these supposed realists in the days of Woodrow Wilson's struggle with Senator Lodge and his so-called irreconcilables.

There is no road back to isolation and "normalcy" that is not a road back to another world war. There is no road back to the pre-war status quo that is not a road back to the precise conditions out of which the present war grew. To go back to "where we came from," is to go back where the war gradually became inevitable. If a free America is to be preserved in a free world, we shall therefore need a program that goes beyond the daydreaming of those fellow citizens who are merely homesick for the past. We are not even interested in preserving "the American way of life" if that phrase means the preservation of America as it was in 1939--and if this is not what the slogan means, the only fruitful subject for discussion would be the distinction of the things that are worth preserving or restoring from the things that had better be forgotten as a part of the past that helped to bring on the present.

There is a spurious patriotism that gambles on the public nostalgia for a past, that never was. It is similar to the symbolism of





Hitler's Third Reich which in its very terminology calls up the memory of an idealized Teutonic history. Free men and women can live in the challenge of the present without these drugs of false history or selected facts. True conservatism in a time of unparalleled speed of social and scientific change, will stress the need for truth as the first weapon of freedom, and for continuous reconstruction in the light of emerging experience--at home as well as abroad.

Freedom House has no detailed program. It has no blueprints to offer for a post-war utopia. It is firmly dedicated to the method of free discussion, however. It is a heritage that comes to us from men of courage in the past who did not fear change and who are remembered in our history because they demanded change and were prepared to fight for it if there was no other way to achieve their ideals.

Peace is not established by winning the war. Winning the war merely clears the path. The construction of the new highway--the organization of the peace--will depend upon our wisdom. We shall need that wisdom when the fighting stops. We can only achieve it then if we clarify our purpose now.







